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THE STORY OF THE CHURCH

Charles M. Jacobs

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The Story of the Church

BY

CHARLES M. JACOBS

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PREFACE

The purpose of this book is to tell, in the briefest and simplest manner, the story of the Church. It is the greatest story that human history knows. It spans the centuries and girdles the earth. In one aspect it is the story of human nature. All the faults and all the follies of which man is capable have had their place in it, but so have all the nobler qualities that human nature can display. But that which gives the story its real greatness, and makes it worth the telling, is the presence in it of the power of God. It is the prolongation of the life of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour and Redeemer of the world. Therefore it must be reverently told.

The book does not aim to replace any other that the author knows. The literature of church history is well supplied with exhaustive treatises in many volumes; but in using them, the general reader or the elementary student is likely to become confused and lose himself among the technicalities or the non-essential facts. It has a full share of compendiums and "short church histories," but these are all too often valleys of dry bones, from which all shreds of flesh have been removed in order that the valley may not overflow. It teems with biographies of varying value and with monographs on almost every subject which can engage the interest of one who studies the

Church's past; but however great their value to the advanced student, the knowledge which the general reader takes from them must be broken and fragmentary. It does seem, therefore, that there should be room for a volume of small compass that will lay especial stress upon the continuity of that stream of life which has flowed down through the centuries from Jesus Christ.

Such a book the author has here attempted. For a score of years a student of church history and for half that time a teacher of it, he went to the task light-heartedly, but now confesses that it has not been easy. Whether it has been successfully accomplished, others than he must judge.

The starting-point has been the end of the apostolic age. The period covered by the New Testament has been purposely omitted. The concluding chapter, on American Christianity, is an appendix, rather than a part of the story. The chapters on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have had to contain more matter than the author has desired, chiefly because those two centuries are so close to us that perspective is difficult to secure. In them, as throughout the book, he has striven to be entirely fair to all parties and to all movements, especially to those with which he disagrees, for one who speaks or writes about the past must be first of all a faithful reporter, and only in the second place a critic.

He acknowledges indebtedness to many books, some of which are mentioned in the Bibliography. Special acknowledgment is due to his father, Henry Eyster Jacobs, who has helped him greatly at many points, and to his friend, Prof. A. R. Wentz, Ph.D., D.D., of Gettysburg, Pa., who has read the entire manuscript,

and whose criticisms and suggestions have been invaluable.

THE AUTHOR.

This edition of *The Story of the Church* has been brought up to date by the inclusion of Chapter XXX, "Optimism, Depression, and Global War." This chapter has been written by Margaret Jacobs Irvin, daughter of the author.

THE PUBLISHER.

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The Story of the Church

CHAPTER I.

The Christian Congregation Before 140 A. D.

It was in the year 30 that Jesus gave His disciples the command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel." The Book of Acts tells of the first steps which they took toward its fulfillment. They moved slowly and hesitantly, as men bewildered, but the Gospel began to spread and Christian congregations began to arise here and there along the Eastern border of the Mediterranean Sea. There was such a congregation at Damascus; there was another at Antioch. There may have been others farther to the East, but of these we have no knowledge. Then came St. Paul. He was the first man whose vision grasped the real mission-field of Christ's disciples. It lay to the West, in that great stretch of territory that was ruled by Rome.

The First Congregation

Paul died a martyr's death about the year 66 A.D., but his work did not die with him. It was taken up by others, by Timothy and Titus and Apollos, and by a multitude of missionaries whose names have not been preserved in any record. By the year 100 these missionaries had carried the message of the Cross through the whole length and breadth of the Roman Empire. They had preached in all the important cities, and in all the greatest of

The Missionaries

these cities, with the possible exception of Carthage, they had founded little societies of believers. These were the original Christian congregations. The history of the Church begins with them. But they were in the Roman Empire, their members were subject to Roman law and justice, living under the influence of the Roman civilization. For centuries the threads of the Church's history were interwoven with the threads of Roman history. Humanly speaking, the history of the Church, in its beginnings, is a chapter in the history of Imperial Rome, but for a Christian it is easy to believe that Rome's power and glory were providentially contrived to be the setting for the proclamation of Christ's Gospel.

The first of the Roman emperors was Augustus Cæsar, in whose days Jesus Christ was born. He ruled from 27 B.C. to 14 A.D. But Augustus was not the founder of Rome's greatness. For five hundred years before him Rome had been growing. It had been a conquering power, subduing under it the Mediterranean peoples, East and West. It had been a republic, in which the rulership was exercised by the citizens of Rome. It was not a democratic, but an aristocratic State, for the "citizens" were a small minority of the population. Augustus managed to gather all the power into a single pair of hands, and became the first of a line of absolute monarchs.

The Roman Empire

Under these emperors the Roman territories continued to grow until the year 180. At the time of their greatest extent they included all of Europe south of the Danube and west of the Rhine, with Britain as an outpost, the whole southern coast of the Medi-

terranean, Egypt, Palestine and Syria, parts of Mesopotamia, and all of Asia Minor. Over the peoples of all these lands "the Roman peace" brooded beneath the shadow of Roman eagles. Thus Rome unified the political life of the Mediterranean basin.

But civilization is more than politics, and the Roman Empire had a civilization that was all its own; there is nothing else in history exactly like it. It centered in the cities, as civilization always does. They were relatively numerous and vastly populous. Many of them were very ancient, older far than the city by the Tiber from which they were ruled. Before Rome began to rule them they had developed industry and commerce and art and science and literature. But in those earlier days each of them had stood, more or less completely, by itself; Rome bound them all together. The military roads, which ran out from the sea-coast to the remotest frontier-stations, and the State-owned fleets which plied the Mediterranean Sea, served larger purposes than those of war; they became arteries of trade; the exchange of goods was made easy; the demand for goods increased and, with it, the production. The cities grew in wealth, and as their prosperity increased, their population grew. Material goods were not the only articles of exchange between the cities. Commercial contacts produced contacts of every other kind; Greek art, Greek letters and Greek philosophy became the common property of men in all parts of the Empire, and the religions of the Orient began to find converts in the West; the Persian Mithra was worshiped in the valley of the Rhine.

Roman Civilization

Of the higher forms of civilization Rome itself was unproductive. Rome unified, legislated, administered; but Rome did not create. The creative impulse came from Greece and the civilization of the Empire was, at bottom, more Greek than Roman. The eastern end of the Mediterranean was the home of this Greek culture. Three centuries before Christ, Alexander the Great had led his armies eastward from Macedonia, across Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia and Egypt, clear to the banks of the Indus. The empire that he founded had been of short duration, but he had broken down the partitions that had divided the East Mediterranean peoples, and opened the way for Greek influence, of every sort, to enter. In the time of Christ, the towns of Asia Minor were Greek cities, so was Antioch in Syria, so was Alexandria in Egypt. When, under Roman rule, the commerce of the East began to flow toward the West, it was Greeks who carried it, and with their commerce they brought their culture. Greek became the language of culture and every educated man could speak it, whatever his native tongue might be; and what is equally important, it became the language of commerce too. This "common Greek," as it was called, was not the language of Plato and the poets, but such as it was, men spoke it everywhere, and when the books of the New Testament were written in this language it could be read by a philosopher of Athens, a merchant of Rome and a sea-captain of Marseilles. Under the Roman government and surrounded by this Græco-Roman culture, the Christian congregations grew.

Greek Culture

Our knowledge of the early history of these con-

gregations is very scanty. Whatever records the churches may have kept have perished. To form a picture of their life we have to piece together scattered bits of information gathered from many sources, but there are some things that we can be sure of. We know, for one thing, that they were most numerous in Asia Minor. It was there that the Greek-speaking cities were most thickly planted, and it was in those cities that St. Paul did his great work; it was there, too, that St. John passed his declining years. We know that there were Christians in Antioch of Syria before St. Paul began to preach, and the church in Alexandria was very old. Antioch, Ephesus and Alexandria were the great eastern marts of trade, and a religion that was growing up in them was sure to spread. Corinth was the most important commercial city in eastern Europe and had a congregation founded by St. Paul. There were Christians in Rome before the year 50, and before 100 there were churches in some of the towns of Spain and Gaul. It is not impossible that Paul may have preached in Spain. It was in the cities, then, that the Gospel found a home, and from the cities it spread into the rural districts. Pagan, to us, means "heathen," but in Latin it meant "countryman," or "bumpkin."

The Location of the Churches

The members of the churches were, for the most part, converted heathen, the kind of people whom the Jews called Gentiles. To be sure, they would have had at first a sprinkling of Jewish members, and in some places the Jewish converts would have outnumbered the Gentiles, but as time went on the proportion of these Jewish converts steadily diminished. The rea-

son for that lies back in the days of Paul. The first important question which the apostles had to settle was whether Christianity was a new religion sprung out of Judaism, or whether it was only a variety of Judaism, so that a man, to become a Christian, had first to become a Jew. St. Paul conceived it as a new religion, and his views were accepted by the apostles at Jerusalem, but they were not accepted by all the Jews who wanted to be Christians. As a result of this, there grew up here and there congregations made up entirely of Jews, and these congregations held aloof from the converted Gentiles, but at an early date these Jewish Christian congregations disappeared and left behind them traces so faint that we know little of them except that once they did exist. In the history of growing Christianity they played no part.

Jew and Gentile

The Christians came chiefly from the "lower classes," not in a moral, but a social sense. They were slaves and freedmen and artisans of various kinds and small traders and merchants. Here and there among them was a man of means and occasionally some man—or, oftener, a woman—of high position. But generally speaking, the condition remained exactly as it was in Corinth when Paul wrote, "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called, but God chose the foolish things of the world to put to shame them that are wise, and God chose the weak things of the world to put to shame them that are strong."

The Membership of the Churches

There were reasons, of course, why the Gospel should have especially attracted people from these

classes of society. It is written of Jesus that "the common people heard Him gladly"; it was those in high places that sent Him to the Cross. So when the missionaries of that very Cross began to publish His Gospel, it was the world's burden-bearers who listened to them; those on whom the burdens rested more lightly were unconscious of the need which the Gospel satisfied. For beneath the outward splendor of those Roman cities was a seething mass of hopeless discontent; just beyond the brilliance of the life that flowed through their gates, lay dark shadows of poverty and want and unrelieved distress. The Roman Empire was, socially, "a whited sepulchre, fair, indeed, without, but inwardly full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness." To the masses, submerged beneath the upper levels of society, the Gospel offered hope and comfort and sympathy and helpfulness in this life, and triumph and salvation in a life to come.

The Attraction of the Gospel

The Gospel of Jesus Christ was not the only new religion that was finding converts among the peoples of the Roman Empire. For two hundred years before Christ came, the religions of the Orient had been pushing steadily toward the West. From Phrygia came the worship of Cybele, the goddess of fertility; from Egypt the cult of Isis and Osiris; from Persia the religion of the light-god, Mithra. Even the Jews were making converts from among the Gentiles. Settlements of Jews were found in all the greater cities, and the God of Israel shared some of the popularity that was coming to all foreign deities. The fact that all of these religions were spreading is a sign that the old

The Oriental Religions

religion of Greece and Rome, the worship of Jupiter and Apollo and the other gods of the pantheon, was breaking down. Christianity came to the Roman Empire as one more attempt, among the many that were being made, to read the riddle of life and to satisfy the need that men were feeling for a god near enough to be a helper, and far enough away to command their reverence and honor. In every place where men lived in fairly large numbers two or three or four religions were competing for their acceptance, and Christianity was one of them.

Christianity and the Roman State

With all these other religions, old and new, the Gospel was at war. The Christians took very seriously the first commandment of the Jewish Law, "I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have no other gods before me." For them that meant "no other gods *beside* me." The claim upon the worship and obedience of men which they advanced for the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ was an exclusive claim. When a man became a Christian he gave up the other gods entirely, and a Christian guilty of idolatry was excluded forever from his congregation. It was this exclusiveness that brought the Christians into conflict with the Roman State.

The Persecutions

For its first three hundred years, Christianity was a persecuted religion. Just when and how the persecutions began, we do not know. There are references to persecutions in Rome in the year 44, and again in 64, under the bloody Nero, and yet again in 95. The references are obscure, but when studied alongside some of the later

books of the New Testament,[1] they make it evident that even in those early days Christians were put to death because they were Christians. Our first clear record of a persecution comes out of Northern Asia Minor about the year 113. The governor of Bythinia-Pontus reports to the Emperor Trajan that some people in his province have been accused of being Christians. He has investigated and found that some of them are guilty; these he has ordered to be put to death. He also reports that the number of Christians in his province is very large and suggests that by some leniency and patience many of them can be recalled from this "base superstition." His report makes it very evident that he knows it to be the practice elsewhere to execute men who are known to be Christians. We also have the emperor's reply. He approves the governor's course and gives him certain rules that are to be followed in future cases of the kind.

The religion of Jesus entered its second century, therefore, as an unlawful religion, and such it remained until 313 A.D. The laws against it were not constantly enforced and were not enforced with uniform severity. The persecutions were chiefly local and caused by local outbreaks of prejudice and hatred. Only twice—once 248-58 and once 303-313—were systematic efforts made to exterminate the new religion, but all through those two centuries a Christian might be placed at any time in jeopardy of his life. The question may be asked why a government that showed itself so tolerant and hospitable toward all religions should have singled out this one for bloody persecution. The answer is in the very exclusiveness

[1] Especially I Peter and Revelation.

of Christianity. All the peoples of the ancient world shared the conviction that one State must have one religion. The official state religion of the Empire was worship of the "genius of the emperor." If men were willing to go through the form of burning a pinch of incense and pouring a few drops of wine upon an altar placed before a picture of the emperor, they might believe as they pleased and worship what gods they pleased; if they were not willing, they were guilty of high treason. The Christians were not willing; they preferred to take the consequences of refusal rather than commit idolatry. These consequences were not always death, but were more frequently imprisonment, confiscation of property and exile. The mob rejoiced to see these penalties inflicted, for the masses of the people resented the exclusiveness of the Christians. They worshiped in private, they kept away from public festivals and games, they were "unsociable," and this was ascribed to "hatred of the human race"; they had no images or pictures of their God, and people called this "atheism." But behind it all there was the feeling, in the officials and in the mob, that these Christians were in some way a menace to the social order and that their principles were revolutionary, even though the men might not be revolutionists; and the Christians were strengthened and comforted by the word of their Master, "In the world ye shall have tribulation, but be of good cheer, I have overcome the world."

The Christian congregations were organized societies. There was, to be sure, no "Christian Church," if by that we mean a great society with "branches" in various places; for each city had its own church,

separate from every other, and the bond which united them was faith and love, not organization. Each of them had its own officers, chosen by the society. Originally there had been two offices in every congregation, that of "elder," or "presbyter," and that of "deacon." The elders had also been known as "bishops," or "overseers." The duties of the "elder-bishops" had been to supervise and direct the work of the congregation, to administer its charity, to care for the sick, to see that the services were regularly held. The deacons were their assistants. The preaching had been done by those who were recognized by "the brethren" as having a special preaching-gift. Of course, an elder might also be a preacher, but he did not preach because he was an elder, but because he was known to have the "gift."

The Organization of the Congregations

Before the year 100 a change had taken place in this organization, and before 140 another came. The first was the transferring of the preaching and the teaching and the conducting of the public worship, including the administration of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, from the "gifted men" to the elders. These became official duties, and the elders were selected because they had, among other qualities, the teaching-gift. Thus the ministry of the Word and Sacraments became official, and that was the beginning of the division of Christians into "clergy" and "laity."[2] The second change was equally important. We begin to find congregations headed by a single officer for whom the name "bishop" is exclusively reserved. The bishop becomes

The Bishop

[2] κλῆρος—"the chosen ones;" λᾶος—"the masses."

the most important man in the Church. All the duties of administration are laid upon his shoulders. He is responsible for the collecting and distributing of alms, for the necessary ministrations to the poor and the sick, and for the exercise of discipline. He is also the liturgical official of the Church; it is he who administers the sacraments and he who preaches, though he may appoint an elder to do these things in his place, for the elders are his assistants in the spiritual work, and the deacons in other things. It is his duty, too, to see that the Church is guarded against heresy, and that what is preached is the true Gospel of Jesus Christ. He represents his own church in its dealings with all others, and in his congregation he represents the spiritual authority of Christ. He is still a local officer, for each church chooses its own bishop, but the rule is "One city, one church; one church, one bishop," and as time goes on the theory arises that the bishops are the successors of the apostles.

The Sacraments

In the congregations two rites were in universal use. Baptism was the rite of initiation. By it a man became a Christian, and it was universally believed that its reception washed away the guilt of all the sins that the candidate had committed. The Lord's Supper, known in this time as the Eucharist, was a very simple rite, compared with the elaborate ritual of later days. It was administered by the bishop as a part of the weekly service and consisted in the distribution, by the deacons, of bread and wine, preceded by a prayer of thanksgiving and the recitation of the words in which Jesus had instituted it. It was spoken of as the reception of "the body and blood of Christ," and this formed

the basis of the charge, made by the heathen, that the Christians were cannibals.

Sunday was the day of worship, chosen because it was the resurrection day. The original custom was to hold two services each Sunday, one early in the morning and one at night. The morning service was one of praise and prayer and preaching; the evening service was the Eucharist. The evening service began with a "love-feast," at which the members of the congregation sat down together for a common meal. It was a social gathering of a religious sort, like the Passover-meal which Jesus ate with His disciples on the night when He was betrayed. After the meal was over, a portion of the bread and wine that had been kept back for that purpose was used in the Eucharist. But the fact that these meetings were held privately and at night and that men and women sat down together at the love-feast brought the Christians under suspicion. Common rumor associated the gravest immoralities with these love-feasts, and secret societies had been prohibited by imperial decree. Little by little, therefore, the love-feast was abandoned and the Eucharist transferred to the morning service.

The Services

The Christians gathered in these congregations were deeply in earnest about their purity of life. They thought of the Gospel not only as a wonderful promise, a ground of faith and hope, but as a law by which their daily living must be guided. In the scanty literature of the early second century we are always running across this thought of the new law. Christians whose sins have been forgiven in baptism must thenceforth lead holy lives. If

Discipline

they fall back into idolatry, if they are guilty of any sins of lust, if their lives are stained by any great crime, like murder, they forfeit God's forgiving love eternally. They may, perhaps, have one more chance; repentance may atone for the first offence; but more than one chance they cannot have. Thus the Church must be the society of the holy. For this reason Baptism was preceded by instruction, and that instruction was not chiefly in doctrine but in the things that Christians were to seek and shun, to do and leave undone. It was instruction in the new law of Christ. For the same reason, the discipline of the congregations was strict and severe; grave sins were punished by permanent, minor offences by temporary, exclusion from the Church. But within the Church the commandment of St. Paul was the law, "Let us do good unto all men, especially those who are of the household of faith."

With these congregations, in these surroundings, the history of the Church begins.

CHAPTER II.

Christianity and the Roman State

Around the year 140, the Christians in the Roman Empire were relatively few in number. They were widely scattered, to be sure, and there were churches in many cities and towns, but the congregations were, as a rule, not large, and included few people of wealth, of culture, or of rank. Christianity was a widespread, but despised, and frequently persecuted religion. Two hundred years later all this had changed. In the year 325 the first great Council of the Church was held at Nicæa, in Asia Minor. It was called by the greatest emperor that Rome had seen in two centuries. To it came Christian bishops from everywhere—from Spain and Gaul and Italy and Africa and Egypt. They traveled by the imperial post, cost-free, and in Nicæa they were lavishly entertained at the emperor's own expense. The emperor himself took part in the meetings of the Council and even met, at times, with its committees. A little more than half a century later, the heathen religions were forbidden, and Christianity, as represented by the Catholic Church, became the sole religion of the Empire. No more complete reversal of conditions can be imagined. How did it come about?

The Victory of Christianity Over Heathenism

The first of the things that produced this change was the quiet, steady and persistent preaching of the

Gospel. The names of the preachers, the missionaries who carried the message of the Cross from place to place, are, for the most part, quite unknown to us. It is only here and there that one of them appears upon the page of history. But these unknown missionaries left behind them monuments "more durable than bronze." These monuments were Christian congregations. They might be small; their members might be very simple folk; but once established, these congregations were permanent, and the people who composed them showed themselves, in numberless instances, readier to die than to deny their faith in Jesus Christ. Such people will always make converts. Early in the third century a Christian writer declared, "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." It was rather the deep Christian conviction of a few people in each of very many communities that caused the congregations to grow. And they grew despite the fact that there was no organized propaganda, no missionary machinery in the modern sense.

Preaching

A second thing that helped Christianity to victory over heathenism was the insistence of the Christians that they had the only true religion. Because the only true religion, it must be the religion for every man. "This is the true light that lighteneth every man that is born into the world" was the motto of Christian preaching and teaching and writing. A Christian writer like Tertullian flames with anger at the thought that any other religion should be compared with the religion of Jesus; another like Origen argues, with a learning equal to that of the heathen philosophers, that the

Exclusiveness

Gospel of Jesus embraces all the truth that exists, all that is good in heathen thought and life, and infinitely more than men had ever dreamed, or could have dreamed, before Christ came. Christianity, so these men believed, is not only the best of many faiths, but is the universal religion, the religion of the universe, true equally on earth and in heaven and in hell. To the heathen this might seem absurd; it might involve Christians in the charge of narrowness and bigotry; it might invite intolerant treatment at the hands of the heathen majority. All these results it had, but they were trifling compared with the power that lay in the Christian claim. It was a challenge thrown in the face of superstitions that were centuries old and of philosophies that were the product of the greatest intellects the world has known.

A third reason for the victory of Christianity was the life of the congregations. To be sure, that life was not always ideal; like every other attempt to live out the Gospel of Jesus, it was only partially successful. Nevertheless the things that the congregations stood for—sympathy, charity, brotherliness, hospitality—were not only preached, but practiced in the churches, and the churches were the only places where men could look to find these things.

The Life of the Church

Finally, heathenism was bankrupt. Men no longer took it seriously. The best thought of the age was alienated from the heathen gods. How completely this was true did not appear until Christianity became the state-religion. As soon as the power of the State was used to further the mission work of the Church,

Weakness of Heathenism

heathenism disappeared. It produced no martyrs. When two faiths were in conflict, one for which men were ready to die and one for which men were not ready to die, it was the former that was inevitably the victor.

But the Church was victorious only against the bitterest kind of opposition. From the beginning of the second century to the beginning of the fourth, it was unlawful for men to be Christians.[1] Many attempts were made, here and there, to stamp out the new religion. We know of persecutions in Asia Minor and in Syria about 113 A.D.; of a violent outbreak of heathen zeal against Christianity in Southern Gaul in 177 A.D., in which numbers of Christians were put to death; of a similar persecution in Egypt around the year 202. But these were only tragic episodes in an otherwise fairly untroubled expansion of the Church. The Christians were disliked and even hated, but the Roman world gradually accustomed itself to their presence, and the occasions when they were molested became less and less frequent as time went on.

Local Persecutions

But in 249 the Roman State suddenly determined to put an end to Christianity. The Emperor Decius decreed that all Christians, men, women and children, must give up their faith or suffer the penalty of death. By the time that this decree was made the number of Christians was very great. In Rome alone there were 155 clergy, including 46 presbyters, and the number of persons on the charity-list of the Roman congregation was more than 1,500. These figures would

The Persecution of Decius

[1] See above, p. 17.

seem to indicate a membership of not less than 30,000. Decius is said to have remarked that he would tolerate a rival emperor in Rome rather than a Christian bishop. In Italy, outside of Rome, there were at least 100 other churches. In Carthage and the surrounding territory there were thousands of Christians, and in Asia Minor the number of Christians was approaching one-half of the total population.

And yet the resolution of the State to destroy the Church was not due solely to the increasing number of Christians, but chiefly to the diminishing power of the State itself. The Empire was weakening; its military and financial strength was on the wane; it was becoming harder to get soldiers and more and more difficult to collect the taxes. In looking for a remedy against this growing weakness, Decius, or his advisers, made the common mistake of thinking that the evils of the present can be corrected by returning to the past. They decided that the Empire must go back to the "ancient Roman customs," which included a revival of Roman religion. The decree of Decius, making it obligatory for Christians to worship before the image of the emperor, was severely enforced, especially in Rome and Africa. Christians were put to a test as fearful as it was unexpected. It is not surprising that most of them failed to stand the test. Large numbers of them went through the forms of public denial of Christ; others bought from the corrupt officials certificates which falsely declared that they had sacrificed. Still others—the glorious minority—refused obedience to the emperor's law and suffered imprisonment, confiscation of property, exile or death.

But the storm blew over. Decius died in 251, and the "fallen Christians" clamored quickly to be received back into the Church. Seven years later another emperor (Valerian) attempted to revive the persecution, but his attempt lasted only a little while. Then for more than forty years the Church was left in peace. The fact was that the Church simply could not be destroyed by persecution. Even under a government as despotic as that of Rome, the laws that can be enforced are, in the long run, only those that are supported by enlightened public sentiment, and public sentiment was not behind the effort to restore the husks of heathenism from which the kernel had been lost.

In 303 the Roman State began its supreme effort to destroy the Gospel. Diocletian (284-305), on receiving the imperial crown, set himself one single object. It was to restore the Roman power everywhere to the greatness it had had in the days of Augustus and of Trajan. As Roman emperor he proposed to be ruler, in fact, as well as in name, of all the peoples who acknowledged Roman sovereignty. To this end he reorganized the whole machinery of government. His plan of reorganization included, as a matter of course, the restoration of the old heathen worship, for neither Diocletian nor any other statesman of the ancient world could conceive of a State without a state-religion. The first place where he attempted to revive the forms of the state-religion was the army, but the attempt to make the Christian soldiers worship according to heathen rites was followed by disturbances among the Christians outside the army, and in

The Great Persecution

303 the emperor and his right-hand man, Galerius, afterwards emperor himself, determined upon a complete suppression of Christianity. All church property was confiscated, the imperial officials were ordered to search for copies of the Christian Scriptures and destroy them, all clergymen were ordered imprisoned and refusal to worship according to the imperial law was adjudged high treason, punishable with death. The next ten years were a veritable reign of terror for the Christians in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt and parts of Italy. This was "the Great Persecution" and the number of the martyrs which it produced was greater than that of all the men who had died for the faith of Jesus Christ from the beginning to the year 300. In the midst of it Diocletian himself resigned his office, but the persecution went on as terribly as while he was on the throne.

But even while the persecution was proceeding the victory of Christianity over heathenism was drawing near. In the far West of the Empire, in Spain and Gaul and Britain, Constantine was growing up to manhood under Christian influence. His father was ruler of these lands, and when he died in 306, the young Constantine succeeded him. Julius Cæsar had once started out from Gaul to conquer Rome; so Constantine started out from Britain. The story of his victory need not be told here. But before the crucial battle of the Mulvian Bridge, which made him master of Italy, Constantine gave his army a new banner. Inscribed upon that banner was a cross. Constantine himself afterwards told the historian, Eusebius, how he came to put it there, and Eusebius wrote the story in the

Constantine the Great

year after the great emperor's death (338). On a sunny afternoon, Constantine saw in the sky a shining cross with the legend, *Hoc vinces* ("By this thou shalt conquer"), and in a dream that very night it was revealed to him that he should put the cross upon his banners. From this time forward Constantine seems to have regarded himself as a Christian, though he was not baptized until the year of his death (337).

By 313 Constantine was master of the whole western part of the Empire, and in that year the Great Persecution came to an end. The Edict of Milan, signed by Constantine and Licinius, the ruler of the eastern portion of the Empire, recognized Christianity as a lawful religion, gave back to the Church all property that had been confiscated, and required that all financial losses which the Church had sustained in the persecution be made good from the imperial treasury. Ten years later Constantine became sole ruler of the Empire.

How sincere Constantine's Christian faith may have been is a debatable question. One thing alone is certain—he was sure that the future of his empire was bound up with the new religion, not the old. The motto, *Hoc vinces,* fairly represents his view of Christianity. The Cross was the means to victory. It was the God of the Christians who was to restore the ancient glories of Rome and carry them to new heights; the gods of heathenism were dead. Nevertheless, Constantine was wise enough to see that heathenism could not be abolished by law. He did not try, therefore, to make Christianity the sole religion of the Empire, but he did make it the favored

Results of Constantine's Conversion

religion, and he did allow it to be known that he was himself a Christian.

Of course the conversion of the Emperor had important consequences to the Church. One of them was a further, and still more rapid, growth in numbers. The reasons that had held many back were now removed, and the example of the Emperor's conversion was contagious. Two generations later the vast majority of the Empire's population was Christian, at least in name. A second consequence was the immediate perfecting of the Church's organization to correspond with that of the Empire. A third consequence, and one that was harmful to the Church, was the subjection of the church organization to imperial control. The churches were no longer private associations of religious men, able to mould their institutions to the needs of their time and place without outside interference; instead they were branches of a single great organization, embracing multitudes of men who were not really religious. The imperial Church had highly developed organs of legislation and administration, recognized as possessing legal rights. It was protected by imperial law and favored by imperial decrees, but it paid for this protection by submitting to imperial demands. The fourth century saw the beginning of the long tragedy of the state-church. When Theodosius (379-395) came to the throne the Empire had once more a single religion. The Roman Empire had become officially Christian, and the Church had become the religious department of the State.

CHAPTER III.

The Organization of the Church—The Rise of Rome

In the middle of the second century there was no general organization of the Church. In each community where there were Christians there was a congregation, but the congregations were not united with other congregations in any formal way. There was one respect, however, in which they were all alike—each of them had its bishop. He was the official head of the congregation, responsible for the preaching and the teaching and the administration of the sacraments. He imposed the congregation's discipline and distributed its charity. Under him were "presbyters," or elders, who represented him, and deacons who assisted him in the performance of his duties. Thus the earliest organization of the Church was by congregations. In the congregations the power of the bishop was steadily growing all through the second century. He was becoming the ruler of his people's souls. By the middle of the third century the bishop's right to rule was generally acknowledged, and the episcopal theory of church-government was generally accepted. The man who gave that theory its final form was Cyprian of Carthage.

Organization by Congregations

Thascius Cyprianus was born, probably in Carthage, about 200 A.D. He was of heathen parentage and his family was both wealthy and prominent in

Carthage, then one of the foremost cities of the Empire. Like many other of the great Christian bishops of this early time, he was educated for the law. When converted to Christianity, about 246, he was already a man of distinction in the community. Not long afterwards he was made a presbyter, and when the bishop of Carthage died, in 248, he was chosen to succeed him. Cyprian himself did not desire the office, but the members of the congregation are said to have gathered before his house and refused to go away until he had promised to accept. For ten troubled years (248-258) he held the office. In the persecution of Decius[1] he had to flee from Carthage, and when Valerian took up again the work of persecution, he was one of the first in Carthage to die a martyr's death. Meanwhile he had been doing a good deal of writing, and one of his little books bears the title, *On the Unity of the Catholic Church.*

Cyprian of Carthage

His theory is this. Throughout the world there is but one Church of Jesus Christ; there may seem to be many churches, but it is only seeming, for "there are many rays, but only one light; many branches of a tree, but only one strength; from one spring flow many streams." To be a Christian, a man must be in this Church. "They cannot dwell with God, who would not be of one mind in the Church"; "he cannot have God for his Father, who will not have the Church for his mother." But this Church is the Church of the bishops. They are the successors of the Apostles, to whom Christ committed the care of His sheep and

Cyprian's Theory of the Church

[1] See above, p. 26.

to whom He gave all power in heaven and earth. Any society, therefore, to be called a church, must have a bishop, and any man who desires to be a Christian must be subject to the bishop. To cut one's self off from the organization, is to incur damnation. The Church, thus organized, is the "Catholic," or universal and true, Church. Outside of it there is no salvation. As for the bishops, they are all equal in rank; they are all successors of the apostles; some may be more prominent than others, but that gives them no superior authority or power. The Church is not yet a hierarchy.

But while the authority of the bishop had been growing, the organization of the congregation had become more complex. In the beginning most of the work of the congregation was done by people who had no official position. It was voluntary service, freely rendered. By the middle of the third century it was done by the professional clergy. Between clergymen and laymen there was a sharp distinction. The clergy too, were divided into higher and lower grades. In the higher grade were bishops, presbyters and deacons; in the lower grade sub-deacons, lectors, exorcists, acolytes and janitors. All of them were inducted into office by some form of ordination, and the idea of local organization had gone so far that in some churches even the grave-diggers were ordained. Thus the work of the Church was passing out of the hands of the many into those of the few, and these few were coming to be regarded as belonging to a higher class.

Clergy and Laity

Meanwhile the churches were finding it necessary to form some sort of union. It was impossible for

any congregation to lead a wholly isolated life. There were many matters concerning which it was important that the churches should act, not separately but together. One of these was heresy; it was highly confusing to have one church teaching one thing and another something very different. Another matter that required united action was discipline; to have one church expelling members for offences that were freely tolerated in some neighboring congregation was, to say the least, disturbing. It was highly important that churches in the same locality should have the same doctrine and the same customs. It was this necessity that gave rise to the general organization of the Church.

The General Organization

It began with the holding of synods. We can trace the history of the synods back to a time before the year 190. They were gatherings of bishops held from time to time to discuss matters of pressing moment and common interest. They met by provinces, *i.e.*, the bishops whose churches were located in a single political division of the Empire came together, discussed matters that required common action and recorded their decisions in resolutions, known as "canons," or rules. At first it was customary to have others than bishops present at the meetings, but as the importance of the bishops grew, the presence of these others became less and less necessary; in the end it was only the bishops who sat in the synods. By 250 it was usual for the bishops of a province to meet once in every year; by 325 it was the rule that such meetings be held semi-annually. There is a touch of human interest in the canon of

Synods

Nicæa, which provides that one of these meetings shall be held long enough before Easter to allow the bishops to celebrate the solemnities of the Resurrection without ill-will. The place of meeting was the capital city of each province, and gradually it became the custom for the bishop of that city to preside over the synod. In this way each province came to have a church-organization which included all the churches of the province; it also came to have a "chief-bishop," or "metropolitan," to whom the name "archbishop" was afterwards given.

Down to the time of Constantine, the general organization had gone no farther than the provinces. It was Constantine who extended it. On rare occasions there had been meetings which were attended by the bishops of several provinces. In 325, Constantine determined to hold a synod of the Empire. The Church had become his church, and with the statesman's love of organization, he desired it to be one church, with a single law-making body, with uniform practices and a single creed. The General Council was to be the law-making body, and was to establish uniformity, in doctrine and in practice, throughout the Empire.[2]

The General Councils

But the institution of General Councils did not complete the organization. The councils might make

[2] The General Councils did not meet regularly, but from time to time on the call of the emperor. The following are the councils universally recognized as General Councils: Nicæa (325), Constantinople (381), Ephesus (431), Chalcedon (451), Constantinople (553), Constantinople (680), Nicæa (787). Other councils, like that of Ephesus (449), were called as General Councils, but were not recognized by the Church as possessing general authority.

rules for the whole Church, but the administration of the rules was in the hands of individual bishops. Constantine's next step, therefore, was to increase the powers of the metropolitans, or archbishops. But even then the administrative machinery was insufficient. The logical thing to do was to set a few "presiding archbishops" over several provinces. Thus, by 381, the Church had secured its five "patriarchs." They were the bishops of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.

The patriarchs did not secure their prominence all in a moment. The council merely gave legal sanction to a situation that had been developing for two hundred years. From the beginning certain churches had occupied a place of unusual influence in Christian circles. They were those that had been founded by apostles; or those that were especially large, wealthy and generous; or those that were located in cities that were largely important in commercial and political life. The church in Jerusalem had the prominence that seemed to belong to the congregation that was situated directly among the holy places of the Christian faith and had had the original disciples as its founders. The church at Antioch was in one of the three great commercial and political centers on the Eastern Mediterranean, and it, too, had been founded by apostles. Alexandria was a city even more prominent than Antioch, and its church-life had long been fruitful and productive. The church there had not been founded by an apostle, but the Alexandrians did claim St. Mark as the beginner of their organization. Constantinople was a new-comer. It owed its high position solely to the

The Patriarchs

fact that it was the seat of government, but as the city where the emperor lived and from which, after 327, the law of the Empire was given, its bishop had especial prominence in the Church, and became almost immediately the chief-bishop in the eastern part of the Empire, despite the handicap of recency. Antioch and Alexandria were jealous, but their jealousy could not prevent the rise of the Byzantine patriarch to the place of first importance in the Eastern Church. When, in the seventh century, Egypt and Syria became Mohammedan territory, the Patriarch of Constantinople stood alone at the head of the church-organization of the Eastern Empire.

In the West, Rome held an unchallenged place. This was partly due to the veneration that men felt for the city by the Tiber. The modern man can hardly realize all that Rome meant to the men of the ancient world. It was more than the world's capital; it was the world's mistress. When men thought of law and government and justice and the power to enforce them, they thought at once of Rome. So completely was this true that even after Constantinople had become the real capital of the Empire, and Milan had become the seat of government in Western Europe, the Empire still bore the name of "Roman." Centuries after the real rulership of the world had passed entirely out of Roman hands, men still believed that the Roman crown conferred supreme authority over the governments of the world. This universal reverence for all things Roman gave to the bishop of the Roman church a unique position among the bishops.

Rome

There were other things that added to his prestige.

The church in Rome was large. It was wealthy, as wealth was counted in the early churches. From early days it was noted for its hospitality to strangers, its generous provision for its own poor, its open-handed charity to other, poorer, churches. About 170 the bishop of Corinth wrote to the bishop of Rome:

The Roman Church

"From the beginning you have been wont to show forth divers good works towards all the brethren. To many churches in divers towns you have sent supplies, and in this manner either relieved the poverty of the needy or provided necessary sustenance for the brethren in the mines. By such gifts, you, as Romans, remain faithful to the customs inherited from your fathers."

But the crowning glory of this, the greatest of Christian churches, was its apostolic tradition. As early as 55 A.D., Paul had declared that the faith of the Roman Christians was "proclaimed throughout the world" (Rom. 1:8). Paul had lived there for a time, if only in a prison, and there had died a martyr's death. Before the middle of the second century it was universally believed that Peter, too, had lived there, and had died in the same persecution (66 A.D.) that had cost Paul his life. Before 170 the tradition was that Peter had been Rome's first bishop, and even at that early date the Roman bishop was beginning to claim that while other bishops might be successors of apostles, he alone was the successor of St. Peter, the greatest of the Twelve. At the same time he could assert that the teaching of St. Paul had been kept alive there, and

Peter and Paul

that his church had preserved the harmonious tradition of St. Peter and St. Paul.[3]

The second century had not ended before the bishop of Rome began to assume an attitude of superiority to other bishops. The churches of Asia Minor had a different Easter custom from that of Rome. They observed Easter on the day of the spring full-moon, regardless of the day of the week on which it came, since this was the day of the Jewish Passover; the Romans, and most others, celebrated the Sunday after the full-moon. This divergence in custom was a source of some confusion, and repeated efforts had been made to abolish it. At last, about 192, Pope Victor demanded that all churches should follow the Roman custom on penalty of excommunication, which meant simply that the church in Rome would refuse to recognize other churches as catholic until they adopted the Roman Easter-date, which had been fixed according to the instructions of St. Peter. The churches of Asia Minor refused, at first, to conform, claiming that their date was sanctioned by the tradition of St. John; but ultimately they yielded.

The Paschal Controversy

This was but the first of many similar assertions of authority, which gave rise to many disputes with other bishops. The popes did not always succeed in having their authority recognized, but that never hindered them from asserting it. They protested against a canon of Constantinople, in 381, which gave

[3] From very early times the bishop of Rome bore the name of "pope" (Greek and Latin, *papa*). This was not at first a peculiar designation of the Roman bishop, but one which was given commonly to bishops. As others ceased to use it, it became his exclusive property.

the bishop of that city a position next after the pope on the ground that Constantinople was "new Rome," declaring that it was not political recognition but apostolic tradition which gave the bishop of Rome his place in the Church. Little by little, in the course of these many conflicts, they elaborated the theory of papal power over the Church.

The pope who gave that theory its all but final form was Leo the Great (440-461). The theory rests upon three passages of Scripture—Matt. xvi: 18ff, John xxi: 15-17, Luke xxii: 31,32. All of them contain words that Jesus spoke to Peter. In the first He says to him, "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my church"; in the second He bids him, "Feed my sheep"; in the third He says to him, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren." These words of Jesus are interpreted to mean that the Church of Jesus Christ is founded on the one apostle, whose power within the Church is made supreme when Jesus adds (Matt. xvi: 19), "To thee will I give the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Peter, therefore, had the power to open and shut the door of Christ's kingdom, which made him the supreme law-giver and judge in spiritual things. He thus became the "vicar," or earthly representative of Christ. When Jesus said, "Feed my sheep," He made Peter the supreme pastor, or shepherd, of all Christ's people. All the power that goes with the office of pastor was thus conferred on him. It was his privilege to guide the erring, to admonish the weak

Theory of Papal Power

and to exercise all spiritual care over the souls of men. When Jesus said, "Strengthen thy brethren," He was giving Peter the office of supreme teacher, whose right and duty it was to instruct and to correct even the other apostles. Thus Christ is represented as having established a monarchical Church, with Peter as its earthly head. The other apostles also had authority, but it was authority which they received not from Christ directly, but only through His vicar, Peter. But the whole Church knew, or thought it knew, that the pope was the successor of the "prince of the apostles." The conclusion was that as Peter's successor, the pope enjoys all the authority that Jesus gave to the great apostle. It is on this theoretical foundation that the Roman claims to supremacy over the Church still rest.

It is apparent that if this view of papal power were to prevail, the synods and the patriarchs and even the archbishops would become unnecessary. All the Church would need would be a successor of St. Peter to give it laws, to define what it should teach, to supervise its operation, and, beneath such a "vicar of Christ," enough bishops to make the pope's decisions and decrees effective. The only work for synods and councils would be the giving of approval to decisions that a pope would make. The notion of papal infallibility lies, scarcely veiled, in the theories of Leo the Great.

CHAPTER IV.

Internal Conflicts: Heresy and Christian Thought

The most dangerous enemies of the Gospel in the early Church were not the Roman emperors, but men who called themselves Christians. The power to weaken, even to destroy, the Church has always rested not with those who persecute it, but with those who distort its Gospel and corrupt its life.

From the beginning there had been differences of belief within the Church. What men find in Christ depends on what they bring to Him. He satisfies the needs of many kinds of men, but the needs which these men feel are not alike. It is not surprising, therefore, that different men's ideas of the Gospel run very wide apart. One thing, however, Christians of every time have had in common—they have thought of Jesus as the Revealer of truth. Doctrine, therefore, has always been a vital element in Christianity. The doctrine has had to do with Christ, and with the truth that Christ reveals—about God, about the world and the men who are in the world, about the life to come. But into doctrine human thought has always entered, and the ways in which men think of other things has had much to do with the way they think of Christ and Christian truth.

Christianity and Doctrine

The world to which the Gospel first came was not an unthinking world. Behind the earliest Christians were

long centuries of searching after truth. In Plato (429-347 B.C.) and Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) the ancient world produced the two greatest thinkers that have ever lived at the same time. They had been followed by other seekers after truth. All of them had disciples, and the cities of the Roman world had their philosophical circles of Epicureans and Stoics and Skeptics, to mention only the most influential groups. In these cities strange religions, too, were striving for the mastery. The missionaries of these religions were crying their wares in every market-place. In the midst of this babel of conflicting philosophies and competing creeds, thinking men were seeking for some harmonious view of life, some explanation of it that would combine all the truth there was in all of the philosophies and all of the religions.

Greek Philosophy

The Gospel, at first, attracted no attention among the thinkers. Those who thought of it at all regarded it either as a form of the Jewish religion or as a "base and boundless superstition." But this indifference did not long continue. Before 135 A.D., the first attempts were made to combine Christianity with these Greek philosophies and Oriental faiths, and make, out of them all, a new religion. These attempts gave rise to those beliefs which we know as Gnosticism. The Gnostics gave themselves that name; it means "the men who know." Others might, indeed, believe, for faith belongs, they thought, to the lower planes of spiritual life. But true wisdom is hidden behind appearances, and comes only to those who have passed within the veil. This wisdom is "the knowledge of who we are, what we have

Gnosticism

become, whither we have been brought, from what we are redeemed, what is birth and what rebirth." Gnosticism, then, is an attempt to answer all the remote and abstract questions that religion can raise in the minds of men.

The Gnostics claimed that their answers to these questions were the true Gospel, not set down in the public records that every man can read, but handed down in a secret tradition and thus reserved for the select few. Their "Gospel" placed God so far above the world that He could not be either its creator or its law-giver; it pictured Jesus as phantom, or a mere appearance, not as a true man; it read into the records of His life and teaching the wildest theories, some of them drawn from the Greek philosophies, more of them from the religions of Babylon and Persia. Between 135 and 200 this Gnostic doctrine was the gravest of all dangers to the Church. It threatened to destroy the Gospel by substituting theory for fact, heathen speculation for Christian revelation.

Against Gnosticism the thinking portion of the Church arose in quick and violent revolt. The bishops fought it from one end of the Empire to the other, from distant Phrygia all the way to Spain, and here and there Christian thinkers began to write against it—Irenæus in Gaul, Tertullian in Africa, Hippolytus in Rome, Clement in Alexandria.

The Opposition to Gnosticism

Little by little the Gnostic teachers lost their influence, but the effects of Gnosticism upon the Church were permanent. For, to oppose this teaching and all future teachings that might be false, the Church erected a triple rampart. The Gnostics had raised the questions, "What is true

Christianity?" The Church replied, "True Christianity is the religion that is taught in Holy Scripture, that is expressed in the rule of faith, that is held in those churches whose bishops are the successors of the apostles."

But when men said, "True Christianity is taught in Holy Scripture," they could not stop with that. They had to go on and say what scriptures are "holy." It was agreed that the "holy" scriptures are the books of the Old Testament and the writings of the apostles.

Holy Scripture

For Jesus and the apostles, as for the Jews, "the Scriptures" were the Old Testament, and the earliest Christians all believed, with the Jews, that these books were given by God; they were "inspired." But the apostles also were inspired. Their writings, therefore, gradually came to have the same authority that the Old Testament had always had. On the question, "What books are apostolic?" there was for a long time no complete agreement; but by the fourth century the books that we now have in our New Testament were universally accepted. Thus the Church had its double "canon," or "rule," of Scripture. With these Scriptures all Christian teachings must agree.

It was also said, "True Christianity is the religion that is expressed in the rule of faith." The rule of faith was the traditional teaching of the Church. It

The Rule of Faith

had taken form in a short statement of the chief truths of the Gospel which candidates for baptism repeated as their confession of faith, *i.e.*, it had become a creed. The earliest form of this creed which we possess runs as follows:

"I believe in God the Father Almighty; and in Christ Jesus His Only-begotten Son, our Lord, Who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary, crucified under Pontius Pilate and buried; the third day He rose from the dead, ascended into the heavens, being seated at the right hand of the Father, whence He shall come to judge the living and the dead; and in the Holy Spirit, holy Church, forgiveness of sins, resurrection of the flesh."

The third answer to the question, "What is true Christianity?" was, "It is the religion that is held in the churches whose bishops are the successors of the apostles." The bishops thus become the guardians of Christian teaching. They are the custodians of the Scriptures and the rule of faith. The Church that has these three possessions—apostolic Scriptures, apostolic creed and apostolic bishops—is the "catholic" Church. It forms a single body, spread throughout the world, but actually one, whole and undivided. Any doctrine which contradicts its standards is "heresy," a dividing influence, threatening the wholeness of the Church. And heresy is damning, for outside the Church there is no salvation.[1] Thus Gnosticism served, in the end, to draw the Church together and to create the standards by which future doctrines and teachers would be judged.

The Catholic Church

But Gnosticism also served another purpose. It made men think about the most important things more vigorously than they had ever thought before. When once that thinking had begun there was no power that could stop it. Men had asked again the question that Jesus put to His disciples, "What think ye of Christ,

[1] See above, p. 33 f.

whose son is he?" and when Gnosticism had become only a hated memory, men were still asking that same question, and they were still finding different answers to it.

Among the greatest of these searchers after Christian truth was Origen of Alexandria. He was born of Christian parents about 185 A.D. His father was a teacher who was put to death in a local persecution when the son was only seventeen or eighteen years of age. The youth at once assumed the support of his widowed mother and his younger brothers and sisters, and made a living for them all by teaching. He had been trained in the great Lyceum, or University, of Alexandria, and became the greatest scholar of the ancient Church, equally at home in the Hebrew Scriptures and the Greek philosophies. For Alexandria had a Christian school, the first of its kind in the world, and Origen had been in that school, a pupil of the famous Christian philosopher, Clement. He succeeded Clement as director of the school, and became one of the greatest Christian teachers of all time. Study, teaching and writing, with occasional preaching, were his life-long tasks. His last years were spent in Cæsarea, where he founded a school like that at Alexandria. It was there that he died, in 251, as a result of tortures vainly inflicted to compel him to deny his faith.

Origen

In his ways of thought Origen was a Greek philosopher, and he wrote his books for men who were familiar with the philosophies. He did more than any other before Augustin to give Christianity a standing with men of education and culture. But there were dangers in that way of dealing with the Gospel. The

greatest was that Christianity might seem to become a religion of the mind, rather than of the heart and life, the Gospel a theology rather than a message of salvation. Moreover, Origen's philosophy sometimes led him into paths whither the Church could not follow him. Years after he had died, he was condemned as a heretic. Nevertheless, it was he who thoroughly awakened Christians to the need of a thought-out doctrine, and his influence upon the thinking of the generation or two that followed him was vastly greater than that of any other man.

But Origen was not the only Christian thinker who was trying to answer the question, "Who and what is Christ?" The rule of faith said, "He is the Only-begotten Son of God"; St. John had said, "He is the Word of God." But the terms "Word" and "Son" had never been defined. Thus there were some who said, "They mean that Christ is one of the forms in which God has revealed Himself to men; the other forms are Father and Spirit."[2] There were others who said, "It means that Jesus is a man upon whom the Holy Spirit has descended with such power that we can think of Him as God."[3]

The Monarchians

The teaching of these "Monarchians" aroused immediate opposition. The one party, it was felt, made so much of Christ's divinity that he could not truly be called a man; the other made so much of His hu-

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[2] This teaching was known as Modalism. A certain Praxeas, and after him, Sabellius were its chief promoters.

[3] This teaching was called Dynamism (*δύναμις*, "power"). Its chief representative was Paul of Samosata.

manity that He could not be called God. The opposition came from many quarters, but from no one more effectively than from Tertullian. He was a presbyter of the Church in Carthage, living between 155 and 223. He had been trained for the law, and was a writer of unusual power, the first Christian author to use the Latin language. He was a violent and bitter opponent of everything with which he disagreed. He disapproved of many things in the Church, and did not hesitate to make his disapproval known. He wrote against Gnosticism and heathenism with equal vigor; for both he had scorn and contempt. In opposing the Monarchian doctrine he framed the language in which orthodox Latin theology was afterwards to speak. The terms "Trinity" and "three Persons in one Substance," with which the Church afterwards described its idea of God, first meet us in his writings. In the last years of his life he became a Montanist[4] and was alienated from the Church organization, but, like Origen, he left an influence behind him which the Church has never altogether outgrown.

Tertullian

As the third century drew to a close, Christian thought was running on many divergent lines. There were many and serious differences of opinion on very many things. But on three things the whole Church was agreed, and this agreement was the foundation upon which it afterwards built up its creeds. It received the Scriptures as the standard of Christian truth, though all Christians did not interpret the Scriptures in the same way; it had a simple creed, though that creed might be understood in different

[4] See below, Chapter VI.

ways; it had in the bishops a recognized authority, qualified to pass judgment on any interpretations of the Scriptures and the Creed which might be offered.

CHAPTER V.

Internal Conflicts (continued): the Formation of the Dogma; Augustin

To one who reads the history of the Church between the years 300 and 450 it may seem as though all of the energy of Christians must have been absorbed in doctrinal disputes. These are the years of the great discussions and dissensions, which produced the "dogma," *i.e.*, the doctrine officially defined as Christian truth. In actual fact it is unlikely that Christian opinion differed more widely in these years than in the century that went before; only the need of uniformity was more deeply felt and the danger of disagreement was more clearly seen.

There were four controversies in these years. Two of them were Eastern in origin, that is to say, they arose in the Greek-speaking portion of the Church; the other two were Western, rising in Latin-speaking Africa.

The first of the four was the Arian. It arose in Alexandria around 318. A presbyter of the Alexandrian church, named Arius, was publicly teaching certain doctrines which his bishop disapproved. When, after the bishop's reprimand, he persisted in his teaching, he was excommunicated. Then he appealed to other bishops, declaring that his condemnation had been unjust. Among these other bishops he found some followers, and the heresy spread out of Alexandria

The Arian Controversy

into Syria. Soon the whole eastern portion of the Church was embroiled in a bitter quarrel, and at last the Emperor Constantine intervened. He summoned the bishops of the Empire to a great council at Nicæa, in 325. At this council Arius' teaching was condemned, and a creed was adopted, stating the official doctrine of the Church.[1] There were, however, many in the Church, who, though they did not agree with Arius, believed that the council had gone too far. The result was that several parties formed, and for more than fifty years these parties were engaged in violent controversy. The emperors were Christians, and by this time the Church had become almost a part of the Roman State.[2] All the parties, therefore, tried to win the favor of the reigning emperor. Thus the whole struggle took a political color, which oftentimes obscured the real meaning of the controversy. In 381 a second General Council, at Constantinople, affirmed the action of the Council of Nicæa, and the Emperor Theodosius forcibly repressed the Arian doctrine and all other doctrine that conflicted with the Creed of Constantinople.

The question which Arius had raised was the old question, "Who and what is Christ?" Arius tried to avoid the error of the Monarchians.[3] Fearing to make Christ either too much God or too much man, he made Him neither. Christ, in Arius' teachings, is a sort of demi-god, halfway between us and the Father; like us, because He is created; like God because He came

[1] The creed adopted at Nicæa is not our "Nicene Creed," though it resembles it very closely. Our "Nicene Creed" is that of Constantinople (381 A. D.).

[2] See above, p. 31.

[3] See above, p. 49.

directly forth from Him before the world began. His was the worst possible answer to the question which he raised.

Arius' great opponent was Athanasius. He was born about 293, probably in Alexandria. In his early youth he entered the service of the Church, first as a lector, then as a deacon. Like Origen, he was one of those youths whose minds develop a very early maturity. Even before the Arian controversy had begun, he had written the two books in which his thought about Christ is most fully expressed, and he was then not more than twenty-six years of age. In the early years of the controversy he was the theological adviser of his bishop, and when the bishop (Alexander) died, he was elected to succeed him (328). For forty-five years he was bishop of Alexandria. They were the years when the Arian struggle was at its bitterest, and the Arians had him driven into exile no less than five times. He was out of his bishopric for more than seventeen years, all told, but after each exile he returned. The reason for his trouble lay in his complete devotion to the Nicene theology, with its insistence upon the full and complete divinity of Christ. In his attitude toward Arianism he was uncompromising. A Saviour who was less than God could not, he believed, be a Saviour at all, and neither hardship nor exile nor persecution could make him yield a jot or tittle of this conviction. There were times when the Nicene Creed was so unpopular, with bishops and with emperors, that Athanasius seemed to be standing all alone against the world, but whether he stood alone or stood with the majority was to him a matter of indifference. At the

Athanasius

time of his death (373), he seemed to have lost his battle. Arianism seemed to be victorious. But the fruit of his long resistance to the Arian teaching was the creed of Constantinople. To him, more than to any other, the Church owed the rejection of a view of Christ that would have made Him, not a divine Saviour, but a mythical creature, whom Christians might call God, if they chose.

Christ is "begotten, not made, being of one substance with the Father." This was the addition which the Arian controversy made to the Church's creed. Thenceforth any doctrine which made Christ less than truly God was branded in advance as false.

Before the Arian difficulties were at an end, new doctrinal disputes had risen in the Eastern Church. Admitted that Christ is divine, "begotten of His Father before all worlds," how are we to explain Jesus of Nazareth? How can we think of Him as a man, without ceasing to think of Him as God? How can we think of Him as God, without ceasing to think of Him as man? These were the questions which formed the focus of the Christological Controversies. They began in the fourth century and did not come to a definite end until the seventh. No less than four distinct heresies were condemned by the Church before the final settlement was reached. These four are known as Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Monophysitism and Monotheletism.

The Christological Controversies

Nestorius was patriarch of Constantinople from 428 to 431. He had been brought there from Antioch, where he had been at the head of a great monastery and had enjoyed a high reputation for character and

learning. At the very beginning of his rule over the church in the capital he threw his clergy into a turmoil, partly by the strictness of his discipline, partly by declaring that it was wrong to speak of the Blessed Virgin as "Mother of God." Nestorius insisted that she be referred to as "Mother of God and Man." There were those who saw in this a denial of the true divinity of Christ. The opponents of Nestorius sought the support of Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria (412-444). This Cyril was both a theologian and an ecclesiastic; he hated heresy and he was equally jealous of the places in the Church which the patriarchs of Antioch and of Constantinople had secured. The result was a dispute between Nestorius and Cyril, in which Cyril secured the support of the pope, and in 431 the Third General Council was held at Ephesus to decide the question. It resulted in the condemnation of Nestorius, who was compelled to leave his bishopric and go into exile. His opponents charged him with separating the divine and human in Jesus so completely that he "made two Christs."

Nestorianism

A few years later (448) Eutyches, abbot of a monastery in Constantinople, proposed a theory of the Saviour's person which gave great offence to his bishop. He declared that Jesus was so completely divine that He had not a real human body, but only the outward appearance of a man. This was carrying Cyril's ideas to an extreme where they became absurd. Yet Eutyches was supported by the patriarch of Alexandria, this time Dioscurus (444-451), but this time the Alexandrian bishop made the mistake of thinking

Eutychianism

that he could do without the pope. Leo the Great decided that Eutyches was wrong; he prepared a written opinion on the subject of the controversy and gave it to his legates to take with them to a council that was held in Ephesus in 449. But when they reached the council they found it in complete control of the Alexandrians; they did not even get the opportunity to present the pope's opinion, but the council decided that Eutyches' teaching should be the doctrine of the Church. Dioscurus soon found, however, that he was not dealing with an ordinary bishop, but with the strongest and the ablest pope that had ever occupied St. Peter's chair. The Eutychian controversy ceased to be a quarrel between Alexandria and Constantinople and became an issue between Alexandria and Rome. The result was another council, held this time at Chalcedon (451). This Fourth General Council reversed the decision of the "Robber-synod," as Leo dubbed the council of 449. Eutyches was adjudged a heretic, and the doctrine of "One Person and two Natures" became the dogma of the Church.

The Creed of Chalcedon

Even after the Council of Chalcedon, there were many in the Eastern Church who believed that Eutyches had been condemned unjustly, and in many places his doctrine continued to be taught in one form or another. One of these forms was Monophysitism, the doctrine that Christ, though both human and divine, had but one nature, that of God. After the Fifth General Council, at Constantinople (553), this teaching was forcibly suppressed. It was followed by Monotheletism, which declared that

Monophysitism and Monotheletism

though Christ had a human nature, He had not a human, but only a divine will. This doctrine was condemned at the Sixth General Council, held also at Constantinople (680).

No chapter in the Church's history has been more bitterly criticised in modern times than that which tells the story of these doctrinal controversies. The critics point to the mixture of motives that lay back of these disputes—personal ambition, the jealous rivalry of competing bishops, the desire of the State to control the Church and the willingness of the bishops to be controlled. All of these things did play a part in the controversies. They also point to the remoteness of the discussions from life, and the apparent smallness of the differences that often separated the contending parties. As an illustration they point out that the Arian Controversy could have been ended thirty years earlier, if the Nicene party—the followers of Athanasius—had consented to the insertion of the letter "i" into the Nicene Creed.[3]

To these critics two things are to be said. The first is that we must not judge the men of fifteen hundred years ago too harshly because they were men; when we ourselves succeed in divorcing prejudice and ambition from our convictions of truth, we shall be in a better position to criticise. The second is that these controversies really dealt with matters far larger and more important than any mere form of words. The real question in the Arian controversy was "Is Christ completely God, or is He less than God?" In the

[3] *Homoousios, homoiousios;* "of *one* substance," "of *like* substance."

Christological controversies, it was, "Is He fully man?" The answer which the Church gave, in its dogma, was, "He is both God and man." It gave that answer, to be sure, in language which our century would not use and cannot understand without a dictionary. But questions must be answered when they are asked, and the answers must be in the language of the questioners, even though these answers may need, in later days, to be translated. Thus the dogma of the Church, with its doctrine of the Trinity and of the One Person and Two Natures, remains, after fifteen hundred years, the creed of the great majority of Christians everywhere. It is a confession of faith in a Saviour, who is both divine and human.

It was the Eastern, or Greek, part of the Church that was most vitally concerned with the questions that we have been discussing. The Western, or Latin, portion of the Church was also interested, but less intensely. For the West had its own questions. These questions were less highly theoretical, and sprang out of the practical effort to apply the Gospel to the lives of men. There were two such questions which especially exercised the Western mind. They were, "What is the Church? who are its true ministers? what are the sacraments?" and "How is man saved; by his own works or by the work of God?" Both of these questions centered in the life and work of the greatest of Western thinkers, Augustin.

Christian Thought in the West

Augustin is one of the men who have made the history of the Church. He left an impression on its life and thought that fifteen centuries have not effaced. Western Christians—Roman, Lutheran and Calvinist

—still speak his language and reflect his ideas. He combined three qualities which seldom exist together; when they do, they make a man of mark. He had a powerful and thoroughly trained mind, informed with the best learning of his age; he had a nature keenly receptive to religious impulse and sensitive to religious truth; to these he added a marvelous literary gift, a complete mastery of the language which he needed to express his thought.

Augustin

He was born in 354, at Tagaste in Northern Africa. His mother, Monica, was a devout Christian, and Augustin always believed that his conversion was an answer to her prayers. He was educated to be a "rhetorician," or teacher of literature, finally opening his own school in Carthage, where he soon became famous. During his student days he contracted a common-law marriage, in which he lived till his conversion (386), having one son, Adeodatus, who died at an early age. Religion was always the chief interest in his life. From his youth, God was drawing him to Christ and he was always seeking other ways to still the longings of his heart—that is the way he afterwards described his course. He sought for inward peace in Manichæism, a Persian faith that was making many converts in the West. For eleven years he was a Manichæan, but it satisfied neither his mind nor his conscience, and when he lost his Manichæan faith he became a skeptic. It was about this time that he removed to Italy and found a home in Milan, where he learned to know the great bishop Ambrose. At this time, too, he began to study Neoplatonism, the last of the great Greek systems of philosophy, and he

always believed that it helped him to understand the Scriptures.

In 386 came the great crisis of his life. He gave up the effort to resist the influences that were drawing him into the Church. He submitted to baptism, put away the mistress with whom he had been living, and went back to Africa, to found the first monastery in that part of the world. He hoped to spend the remainder of his days in study and meditation and prayer, to sink his whole being in God. But though he always found time for study and for writing, the life of the recluse was not for him. The Church in Africa was in a turmoil; there was work to be done from which a workman of the quality of Augustin could not be spared. In 395 he was made bishop of Hippo Regius, the most important city in the province, next to Carthage. There he became preacher and administrator, as well as teacher, student and writer. In this incessant labor, he became the great interpreter of the Gospel to the Western world. He died, full of years and honors, in 430.

Augustin accepted heartily the dogma of the Church, so far as it had been formulated down to the time of his death, but his thought was really centered upon Western questions. The first of these questions had been raised by the Donatists after 311. In that year Cæcilian was elected bishop of Carthage. He was consecrated by a certain Felix, bishop of Aptunga. It was alleged that in the Great Persecution, this Felix had surrendered copies of the Scriptures to the Roman officers, and there were those who declared that this offence rendered all of his official acts invalid. Cæcilian, therefore, was

Donatism

not really bishop of Carthage, and none of the acts which he performed as bishop could have any value or meaning. The result of these accusations was a sharp division in the African Church. The party opposed to Cæcilian was led by Donatus of Casæ Nigræ, and the Donatists maintained that they alone were the true Church, their sacraments the only true sacraments.

When Augustin became bishop of Hippo, the struggle between Donatists and Catholics had been proceeding for eighty-five years. One synod after another had declared the Donatists in error; two or three times the emperors had tried to suppress them, though unsuccessfully. Augustin entered the controversy against the Donatists. He maintained that the character of a minister does not affect his official acts. A baptism is none the less truly a baptism, because the baptizer is an immoral man. That which makes the Church a true church is its possession of the creed, the apostolic sacraments and the apostolic succession of bishops. All the acts of the Church are valid acts, even though the church officials may be unworthy men. But the discussion went still farther. It led Augustin into the questions, "What is the Church, after all? What is a sacrament? What effect do the sacraments have?" etc. In answering these questions Augustin gave Donatism its death-blow[4]; at the same time he gave the Catholic Church its first complete teaching about itself.

The second of Augustin's great questions dealt with the manner of man's salvation. About 411 A.D., two

[4] After 411 Donatism was suppressed by law, but did not finally disappear until the Vandal invasion of Africa (429-30).

men, Pelagius and Celestius, came from Rome to Africa, teaching a doctrine of salvation that Augustin could not accept. They taught that a man can save himself by his own works. He can choose to do either good or evil; theoretically, it is quite possible for a man to live a sinless life; that no man actually does this is not due to the sinfulness of his nature, but to a habit of sinning which men have formed since Adam set them a bad example. Christ saves us by giving us an example of a different kind; if we do as He did, we shall be saved.

The Pelagian Controversy

There was nothing new about this doctrine; it was, in fact, very old. But both in the New Testament and in his own experience, Augustin had found certain truths which flatly contradicted the Pelagian doctrines. He had repeated in his own life the experience of which St. Paul had written, "When I would do good, evil is present with me, so that the good which I would, I do not, and the evil that I would not, that I do." Against Pelagius and his followers, Augustin set the teaching of St. Paul, as he understood it. No man can do anything toward his own salvation; God must do it all. He saves men by giving them His grace, and He gives His grace to those men whom He has chosen out of the "mass of perdition" which we know as the human race. Not by any power of their own, but by the grace which God gives them, these men do good works.

It is not possible to imagine a more complete contradiction than that of Pelagianism and Augustinianism. The conflict between the two was long and bitter. Pelagianism was condemned by the Council of Ephesus

(431), but the Church was far from ready to accept all that Augustin taught about the complete corruption and utter powerlessness of human nature. A century after Augustin's death, Pelagian doctrine was still being taught in some parts of the Church, though in a modified form (Semipelagianism). Decrees of synods (Orange, 529) and of popes (Boniface II, 529) approved Augustin's doctrine. It was the formally accepted doctrine of the Church, but Semipelagianism—the belief that a man can at least help in the work of his own salvation—continued, and still continues, to exist.

Semipelagianism

Through such inner conflicts as these, the Church was gradually developing uniformity of doctrine. It came by a process of exclusion. The variety of teaching claiming the name of Christian was very great. There was a real danger that amid all this variety the Gospel would be entirely lost. Then the Church began to deny the name of Christian to certain of these doctrines, setting up its creeds as bulwarks against "heresy," *i.e.*, against doctrines which would have divided the Church. The decisions of the councils and the teachings of Augustin show the results of this process in the ancient Church. They set the form in which Christianity was handed down to the centuries that followed.

CHAPTER VI.

The Monastic Life

If a Christian of the second century could have revisited the world as the fourth century was drawing to a close, three things would have aroused his wonder, as he looked upon the Church.

One of them would have been its power, in numbers and in wealth; another the completeness of its organization; the third, the great number of Christians who were living, singly and in groups, apart from their fellow-men. These were the monks.[1]

The spirit that made men monks had existed in the Church from the beginning. Jesus had taught the virtue of self-denial, and among His disciples there were some who thought that those who pushed this self-denial to the greatest lengths would receive the largest and the richest rewards in heaven.[2] One form of self-denial the Church had enforced upon its members. It had insisted that they must be separate from the world; those who took their standards of conduct from the conventions of Roman society, instead of from the teachings of Christ, were excluded from the congregations. The Church was the congregation of the holy, and holiness meant separateness from the world. But there had always been differences of opinion about the lengths to which this separateness should be carried. Even in the second cen-

Christians Separate from the World

[1] Latin, *Monachi;* Greek, μοναχοί; "the men who live alone."
[2] Matt. 9, 27-29.

tury there were complaints about the laxness of Church discipline, and before 200 A.D. there was at least one organized movement for the "reformation" of the Church.

This movement was Montanism. Montanus was a "prophet" who taught in Phrygia about 156. He believed himself the special mouthpiece of the Holy Spirit, and others—men and women—who worked with him laid claim to the same kind of inspiration.

Montanism

These prophets, and prophetesses, declared that Christ's second coming was at hand. In view of it the Church must purify itself. It must compel its members to greater self-denial, more constant fasting and more zealous and continual prayer. Christians must detach themselves from worldly things, especially from the indulgence of the flesh and the possession and pursuit of wealth. The ascetic life, the life of abstinence, in which a man gives up the use of worldly things, is the highest and the only true type of Christian living. Waiting for the coming of the Lord must be the Christian's chief business. Tertullian, in his later years, was a convert to these views, which won adherents everywhere.

The Montanists never formed more than a small minority of the Christians, and Montanism soon died out. But the Montanistic idea of the perfect life was shared by many who did not join the sect. It was an idea that was not peculiar to Christianity, but had long existed in other religions, especially in the Orient. The Buddhist ascetic and the Hindu fakir are present-day illustrations of the power of this idea. It has two roots; one, the belief that the world is incurably

The Roots of Montanism

evil; the other, that the best men are those who do the hardest things for conscience's sake. Jesus taught self-denial for the sake of others; the ascetics taught self-denial for the sake of self.

About 250 these ideas began to produce the first monks; by 350 Egypt was full of them and the movement was spreading through Syria, into Asia Minor; by 450 the monks were everywhere. They were seeking perfection by cutting themselves off from the association of other men, throwing aside all ordinary responsibilities, and subjecting their bodies to all the outrages and insults that imagination could devise. They were doing it, as they thought, for Christ's sake, that through the mortification of the flesh they might become sure of eternal life. The world was to them not something to save, but something to be saved from. But the most significant thing about it all is that even those who were not living this life of hardship regarded those who were as holier, and as better Christians, than themselves. Something of the halo that once surrounded the head of the martyr seemed now to hover over that of the monk. "If thou wouldest be perfect, go and sell all that thou hast, and come and be my disciple" was one of the most-quoted words of Jesus.

The First Monks

There were reasons, of course, why this idea of holiness should have sprung into active life just at this time. It was the time when the Church was having its most rapid growth in numbers and when Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire. The "floods of ungodly men" no longer threat-

The Condition of the Church

ened the Church from without; they poured into it, instead, and corrupted the springs of its piety. The Church was growing worldly; the bishops were coming into possession of rank and honor and worldly wealth such as they had never had before; the organization of the Church was so complete that for every duty there was some official and little room was left for unofficial Christian service. The more earnest Christians saw these changes with alarm. Men who had fled to the Church to get out of the world found that the world was pursuing them into the Church. Despairing of salvation in the midst of a wicked and perverse generation, they sought it in the deserts, in the mountains, in dens and caves of the earth, and in the monasteries. They left the world to walk in its chosen paths of wickedness, unhindered by their presence; they left the Church to fight its battles against worldliness and moral evil without their aid.

Monasticism was not, in its beginnings, an organized movement. It was, in fact, an outbreak of individualism. Each monk chose his own way of salvation, in practical rebellion against the way that the Church was teaching. The first monks, therefore, were the hermits. The earliest of them to attain world-wide celebrity was Anthony. His "biography," written probably by Athanasius, is the first of a long succession of similar "lives" composed for the purpose of making monasticism popular. According to his biographer, Anthony was born in Egypt about 250 A.D. His parents died when he was about twenty years of age, leaving him and his only sister a comfortable fortune. The word of Jesus, "Go and sell all that thou hast and give to

St. Anthony

the poor," led him to give away most of his wealth; another word, "Take no thought for the morrow," persuaded him to dispose of the rest. He then began to live by himself in a little hut just outside his native village. Here he became an object of veneration, and to escape the attention of men, he withdrew to a distance from the town and made his home among the tombs. But even that was too close to the haunts of men, and so he went farther, and yet farther away, seeking for solitude. He sought it vainly, for each new hermitage that he made for himself became a place of pilgrimage, and everywhere he went he was followed by others, who desired to imitate his life. It was a life of complete self-denial. He fasted to the utmost limit of strength, going for months at a time on bread and water, giving his time to meditation and prayer, and subsisting on the gifts of those who revered his holiness. He is said to have worked many miracles. His sister, too, embraced the monastic life, and in their last years their hermitages were not far apart. In spite of the buffetings which he inflicted on his body, he lived to the age of one hundred and six years.

The Hermits

The life of this Egyptian hermit is typical. The same ideas, working upon many minds, produced in many places similar results. By tens and hundreds, and finally thousands, men began to leave their homes and take up their abode in the sparsely settled districts of Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, Syria and Asia Minor. In 375 the Emperor Valens conscripted into his army five thousand monks from a single district in Egypt. Monasticism had become a mass-movement.

But a mass-movement into solitude destroys the solitude, and as soon as men cease to be alone, they begin to construct forms of social life. Sooner or later the monks were sure to produce an organization. The first organizer was Pachomius (292-346). He founded the first monasteries of which there is any record, and by the time of his death there were eleven houses under his direction, two for women and nine for men. They were little more than colonies of hermits, living under a single roof, according to a "rule," or code of law. The rule was severe, aiming only to modify the hermit-life at the most necessary points. The monks ate together and prayed together, and, when necessary, worked together, all under the government of an abbot, or "archimandrite." A generation later, Basil the Great in Asia Minor (d. 379) was the author of another rule, which became the basis of monastic organization in the East. These rules did not produce monastic "orders," which belong to a later time. All that the rules did was to introduce uniformity into the monastic life, a uniformity that was far from complete, and yet a great advance on the individual excesses of the hermits. Each house was independent of every other; it administered its rule in its own way; its inmates came and went, for they took no vows that bound them to be monks for life. But it was not long until the great majority of the monks were in these houses.

Pachomius

In the West, monasticism was an importation. It came in from the Orient before the year 400. Its first homes were Gaul and Italy, but from there it spread with great rapidity, and before 450 it was every-

where, as in the East. The monks of the West differed from their brethren of the East in one respect. They were saner, less given to excesses, more easily moulded by social influences. Among them the monastery was, from the very first, the usual thing; the hermitage was the exception.

Western Monasticism

Benedict of Nursia was the great organizer of Western monasticism. Through the mist of legend which has gathered around his life, we can still see, though faintly, the outlines of this greatest of Western monastic saints. The year of his birth is unknown, though it cannot have been many years before 490. Equally unknown is the time of his death, though it was after 542. Sent to Rome in early youth to receive an education, the vice and wickedness which he saw all around him drove him to seek salvation in a hermitage, near Subiaco. There he spent three years before he was prevailed upon to accept the abbacy of a little monastery in the neighborhood. But the monks rebelled against the strictness of the youthful abbot's discipline, and he left them, to found a monastery of his own. In a short time he was director of no less than twelve small houses, with a dozen inmates each. In 529 he moved away to the South, and planted, on a hill-side just off the main highway between Rome and Naples, the monastery of Monte Cassino, built on the ruins of a heathen temple. There he spent his remaining days, surrounded by an ever-growing company of monks, to whom he gave the rule that perpetuates his name.

St. Benedict

The Benedictine Rule is a work of genius. It is a constitution and by-laws for the government of a

monastery, at once the most complete and the most humane that the monastic movement had produced, for Benedict laid upon his monks no burdens that were beyond their strength. Each monastery was a self-supporting community. To the traditional occupations of the monks—meditation and prayer—Benedict added the duties of labor and study for certain specified hours in every day. Instead of seeking to isolate the monks, as far as possible, from one another, he planned that his monks should perform the largest possible number of tasks in common. To prevent the continual coming and going, and to reduce the number of monastic vagrants, he required his monks to become permanent inmates of the house in which they took their vows, leaving it only when the abbot gave permission. To make sure that the monks' vows would be kept, he prescribed a novitiate of one year. To prevent the decay of monastic morals and to ensure the harmonious working of the monasteries with the authorities of the Church, each house was placed, by the rule, under the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese.

The Rule of St. Benedict

During Benedict's life-time the rule was not extensively used outside of his own monastery at Monte Cassino, but after his death the use of it began to spread. Gregory the Great (590-604), the first monk to occupy the papal chair, had lived by the Benedictine Rule, and his influence had much to do with the extension of its use; the bishops welcomed it, for it gave them a voice in the control of the monasteries; but the thing that did most to spread it was

The Spread of the Benedictine Rule

the intrinsic value of the rule itself. During the seventh and eighth centuries it gradually supplanted all the other rules, and after the year 800 there were few, if any, monasteries in Western Europe where it was not the code of the house. Even yet there were no orders; the houses were still separate and unrelated communities; but there was uniformity, and for five hundred years the Rule of St. Benedict governed the monasteries of the West. Monasticism had ceased to be a movement and become an institution.

Monasticism was a way of life, but before it became a way of life, it was a way of thought. The hermit in his mountain-cave, the pillar-saint, spending long years on the top of a column, the monk cut off from his fellow-men and passing his time in labor and study in a Benedictine house, all these were products of an idea. It was the belief that the world was hopeless and that the only escape from irresistible temptation was in flight from the allurements of the world. Insofar, it was a denial of the Saviour's teaching. Combined with that belief was the conviction that a man by undergoing special hardships could make himself peculiarly worthy to appear before the judgment-seat of God; and that was a flat contradiction of what St. Paul had taught. Of the two ideas the first was stronger in the earlier, the second in the later period of monastic development. But this second idea was not confined to the monks. It was the common belief of the whole Church, with here and there a rare exception. Therefore monasticism became the characteristic institution of the Church.

Monasticism a Way of Thought

But monasticism also had another side. It was the

monks who were most deeply in earnest with their religious faith. It was they, rather than the bishops, who were the missionaries and the teachers, and the scholars of the following age, and who were the founders and the administrators of the Church's work of mercy; and when Western Europe became a political and social chaos, it was the monks who kept the embers of Roman culture from dying and fanned them, by and by, into a new blaze.[3] It is easy to criticise the monastic idea. It was a one-sided view of the Christian life, and because one-sided, it was false. The institutions it produced were frequently corrupt and the lives of the monks often accorded ill with the professions which they made. But the debt which later ages owe to the monks cannot be paid with criticism. They were the preservers of personal and practical Christianity in the dark days when the official Church seemed to have forgotten its true calling and to have become chiefly concerned with the things of this world.

[3] The first of the great monastic scholars in the west was Jerome (c. 342-420). Forty-two years of his life were spent among the monks of the Orient; the last thirty-four as head of a monastery at Bethlehem. Yet he was one of the greatest scholars that the ancient Church produced. His revision of earlier versions of the New Testament, and his new translation of the Old Testament from the original Hebrew gave the Church its Latin Bible, the Vulgate.

CHAPTER VII.

The Changed World (400-732 A. D.)

In the three centuries that followed the year 400 the Roman Empire went to destruction. It was the most colossal political creation that men had ever produced. In 400 it was ruling over the whole northern coast of Africa, the whole of Egypt, Palestine and Syria, all Asia Minor, and the whole of Europe south of the Danube and west of the Rhine. Its prestige in the West had been somewhat lessened, to be sure, after Constantine removed the seat of government to his new capital at Constantinople; inner dissensions, too, were frequent; the army was more constantly in active service, and the taxes were harder to collect. But outwardly it was still as imposing as ever, and its glory seemed undiminished. Men thought of it as destined to last forever. And yet, in 732, the successors of Augustus and Constantine were ruling only western Asia Minor, Turkey in Europe, Greece, and a little piece of Italy. The world-power of Rome was a thing of the past, and the civilization which Rome had nourished was gone. The world in which the Church was living was completely changed.

The Fall of the Roman Empire

In the fourth century the Church had formed an alliance with the Roman State. Under Constantine and his sons, it had become the religious department of the Empire. The emperors protected it and supported it; they also controlled it. At the time it had

seemed that the Church would benefit by this alliance. But when the Roman State went down before the German and Mohammedan invaders, the whole external structure of the Church collapsed.[1]

In 400 the whole Empire was Christian. Christianity was the only religion tolerated within its borders; in 732 a new religion had taken the place of Christianity throughout the East. This new religion was Mohammedanism. Mohammed began to preach his new religion in Arabia about 610[2]; when he died, in 632, he had established a political government over the whole of Arabia. It was a "theocracy," modeled on that of Moses, in which the "prophet" was also the ruler. Two years after Mohammed's death, the Arabs embarked on a career of conquest, spreading the new religion with the sword. They found the Roman and the Persian empires weakened by almost twenty years of war, and fell upon both of them at once. They overthrew the Persian power and extended their rule deep into Central Asia; Palestine fell into their hands, then Syria, then Egypt, then Eastern Asia Minor. As their armies neared the Bosphorus, the resistance of the East Romans stiffened, and the conquerors turned westward from Egypt along the northern coast of Africa, all the way to Gibraltar, where they crossed the straits and founded a government in Spain. In less than a hundred years they had torn away all of

Mohammed

The Mohammedan Conquests

[1] The condition was somewhat like that of the state churches of Russia and Germany after the Revolutions of 1917 and 1918.

[2] The year 622 A. D. is the year 1 of the Mohammedan calendar. It is the year of the Hegira, Mohammed's flight from Mecca to Medina.

the eastern and southern territories of the Empire. In 732 their westward progress was permanently halted at Poitiers, in the heart of France, but it was the Germans, not the Romans, who checked it.

The immediate result of these conquests was a shrinkage of the Church. The Mohammedans were religious fanatics. They believed that theirs was the only true religion, and the purpose of their military campaigns was to make converts, as well as to acquire new territories. To the inhabitants of many of the conquered lands they offered the simple alternative of the Koran or the sword. Even where this alternative was not pressed, the Church was weakened. It had been leaning on the Roman State and had lost the energy and vitality which it had possessed when Christianity was a persecuted faith. In the face of adverse conditions, it was helpless. It could not convert the invaders and died a lingering death by strangulation. Little by little the ancient strongholds of the Church passed out of Christian history. Eastern Asia Minor, whose Churches had been founded by St. Paul; Antioch, where "the disciples were first called Christians"; Alexandria, the first great center of Christian thought, the home of Origen and Athanasius; North Africa, where Tertullian and Augustin had lived and labored; —these were all in Moslem hands, and in these places the Church was gradually crushed out.

Their Effects on the Church

In the lands which the Empire continued to rule, the Church remained what it had been before, the religious department of the government. But the Empire itself was only a survival of an earlier day, a wonderful political relic, rich in memories of great-

ness, but poor in all things else; the Church, bound to this Empire, took on the same character. In 987 it became the Church of the Russians, as well as of the East Romans, and the growth of the Church of the East in modern days, has been due to its alliance with the Russian State. Since the overthrow of the Russian Czardom, it is the most pathetic figure among all the churches of the world, once again a State-church that has lost its State.

The Church of the Eastern Empire

But the Mohammedans were not the only invaders of the Empire. Before they came, the Germans had stripped the emperors of their western lands. At the beginning of the Christian era, the whole northern frontier of the Roman Empire was fringed with settlements of German tribes. The Romans did not regard them as a serious danger for they were divided into many tribes, continually at war among themselves. Moreover, they were "barbarians" upon whom the Romans looked with contempt. A few legions, stationed in the frontier-forts and recruited, very often, from among the Germans themselves, were thought sufficient to protect the boundary-lines.

The Germanic Invasions

In 375 the Emperor Valens granted one of these tribes permission to cross the Danube and make its home in Thrace. That was the beginning of the movement that resulted in the loss of Western Europe. About 400 this tribe—the Visigoths, or West Goths—began to move westward. It pushed across to the Adriatic, around its head, and down into Italy. In 410 the Visigoths were before the walls of Rome and laid the city under

The Visigoths

tribute. Two years later they were settled astride the Pyrenees, part of the tribe in Spain and part in Gaul. In 430 they held the whole of Spain.

This was not a single, isolated movement. In 408, while the Visigoths were in Northern Italy, the Vandals crossed the northern frontier of Gaul and moved to Spain, where the Visigoths found them when they came in. In 429 the Vandals went on into Africa and settled there. About the same time that the Vandals came into the Empire, the Burgundians, too, moved southward and took possession of the valley of the Rhone. When the Romans withdrew from Britain, soon after the year 400, the North Sea rovers—Angles, Saxons and Jutes—began to settle there. In 490 another Gothic tribe—the Ostrogoths, or East Goths—took Italy and ruled it until 554, when the East Romans succeeded in recapturing it, only to lose most of it to another invading tribe, the Lombards, who entered in 569.

The Other Tribes

All of these movements were alike. They were not invasions, but migrations. A whole tribe moved from one location to another, looking for a home. It went peacefully, if it might, fighting only when it must. It took what land it needed for its own members, leaving the former inhabitants unmolested, except for the deprivation of property which the new-comers might need, or want. The native population remained in the majority, but it was the new-comers who were the rulers, and where the tribes settled close together they fought one another for the right to rule. Meanwhile the Empire was too weak to keep them off. Little by little,

Character of the Invasions

therefore, the civilization of the Empire withered. Western Europe came to have many governments instead of one. The cities were not destroyed, but the transportation system of the Empire was broken up and the life of the cities withered. The new settlers had for the Roman civilization a feeling akin to awe, but that did not prevent them from grasping after its fruits. Thus gradually the culture of the provinces sickened and died, and European civilization was compelled to make a new start. It had to be built up again out of the ruins to which the Germanic invasion had brought it.

The Franks

But the nation that was to make the history of the following centuries was none of those that have been mentioned. It was the Franks. In the fifth century they, too, were moving, but their movement was not a migration, it was a conquest. The home of the Franks was in the Rhinelands, and they never gave it up; they used it as a base, and reached out from it, north and south and east and west. To the north and the east they conquered other German tribes; to the west and the south they pushed their borders across the frontiers of the Empire. By 525 they had reached the North Sea, and the greater part of Roman Gaul had become France—the land of the Franks.

The Frankish Kingdoms

As time went on, this Frankish kingdom became the center of a new political creation. For the Franks were never driven out; nor were they ever conquered by any other nation. The Vandal rule in Africa lasted only a hundred years; the East Romans destroyed it in 534; the Visigothic kingdom in Spain was conquered

by the Moors; the Ostrogoths lasted in Italy for scarcely more than two generations, and their successors, the Lombards, were afterwards subjugated by the Franks. But the Franks maintained themselves, keeping their hold upon their ancient tribal home in the Rhine valley, and gradually pushing their conquests deeper and deeper into Germany. Bitterly enough they fought among themselves. Their territories were divided time and again. Sometimes there were two kings, sometimes three, and sometimes four, in Frankish lands; but no invader ever got permanent foothold in Frankish territory. It was the Franks who beat off the Mohammedan invasion in 732.

The Conversion of the Germans

The effect of the German conquests upon the Church in Western Europe was altogether different from that which the Mohammedan conquests had upon the Eastern Church. They caused temporary hardship and distress, but in the end they were a blessing. To be sure, the Western Church was faced with serious danger for a time. The new-comers were either heathen or Arian Christians, and the orthodox Church had more to fear from the Arians than from the heathen, but it solved its problem by bringing the Germans into the Church. Their conversion opened a new epoch in its history and in the history of the world.

Because it could convert the Germans, the Church in the West could easily do without the Roman Empire. The barbarians were free with the lands which they were taking from their rightful owners, and used a part of them in the lavish endowment of the Church. At the same time, they were little given to

interference in Church affairs, so long as the Church was occupied with spiritual duties. In fact, the Western churches were never "Byzantinized," they never were controlled from the seat of government, as were the churches of the East; the emperors had given them smaller protection, and smaller protection meant less dictation. Toward Constantinople the Western churches had always shown a considerable degree of independence, and when the Germans cut off Western Europe from the East, the independence of the Western Church was guaranteed.

The Popes

The papacy had been the center of this independence. In the fourth century the popes had stood firmly against the efforts of Constantinople to revoke the Creed of Nicæa, and the decision of the Council of 381 was a victory for Roman orthodoxy. On the other hand, the popes had not hesitated to condemn the decree of the same council which gave them first place in the Church on the sole ground that Rome was the world's ancient capital. They demanded recognition on other grounds. The German conquests left the popes free to press their claims to spiritual rulership, unhindered by decrees of emperors.

The Church and the Germans

To the converted Germans the Church was a schoolmistress. It was the single Roman institution that survived their coming. All that remained of Roman civilization passed into the custody of the Church, to be imparted to the new-comers and to the mixed race that soon sprang from the union of the Germans with the native population. Roman ideas and Christian ideas were mingled in the Church's teaching, which

became political and social as well as religious. Thus the Church came to have a unique place in the life of Western Europe. It became the one great civilizing influence, and its servants spoke to the barbarians and barbarized provincials in a tone of high authority which they had not adopted toward the rulers of Old Rome. To be sure, the Church itself did sink to a lower cultural level; but however low that level may, at times, have been, it was always higher, on the whole, than the level of the peoples with which the Church had to deal. What the Church was really doing from the fifth to the eighth century was to lay the foundations of a new West European civilization, of which modern Europe and America are the heirs.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Expansion of the Western Church

The Germans who moved into the Roman Empire brought the Western Church an unexampled missionary opportunity. None of them were orthodox Christians. The Angles, Saxons and Franks were heathen; the rest were Arian Christians only a generation or two out of heathenism. The Church's mission-work among these peoples was a measure of self-defence. It had to convert them or die.

The conversion of the German tribes to Arian Christianity was the work of Ulfila (c310-383). This great missionary gave forty years of his life to the spreading of Christianity among the Visigoths. He had been educated at Constantinople, and when he began his missionary career, about 341, the Arian doctrine was in the ascendant there. It was by accident, therefore, rather than by design, that he went out as a preacher of Arianism. Just how his work was done we do not know, for most of the records of his life have perished, but we do know that he gave the Goths the Bible in their own language, and it is likely that the conversion of the people was accomplished through the conversion of a few of their great tribal chiefs. At all events, when the Visigoths came into the Empire, in 375, they were already Arian Christians. It was apparently Gothic missionaries who went to the

Ulfila

other German tribes. The Vandals, Burgundians and Ostrogoths were Arians.

In the places where these tribes ultimately settled there were, therefore, two rival Christian churches—one the orthodox church of the native population, the other the Arian church of the new settlers. The orthodox were usually in the majority, but the Arians were the rulers. If they had chosen to be persecutors, the whole subsequent history of Europe might have been different. But they chose to be tolerant. Africa, under Vandal rule, was the one conspicuous exception; elsewhere the orthodox churches were left unmolested. Thus it came about that in every center of Arian population there was a Catholic church which could become a center of missionary influence.

The Conversion of the Arians

For a time the difference in religion was a mark which distinguished the rulers from their subjects. But this distinction could not last. The difference between Arianism and orthodoxy was too subtle to be of great importance to untrained minds. It required Greek philosophy to make it clear, and of Greek philosophy the Germans were, for the most part, wholly innocent. To them the distinction appeared to be rather that between Roman Christianity and their own. In the competition between these two forms of the Christian faith, it was the Roman form that had all the advantage. For the Germans were conscious of their cultural inferiority. Their reverence for Roman ways of life was unbounded, and their great desire was to become Romanized. Acceptance of the Roman doctrine was a step in that direction. It was made easier by

the continual intermarriage of the German settlers with the native stock.

But it was the kings of the Germans with whom the decision really lay. With all these peoples religion was, to a great extent, a tribal matter. The religion of the tribe was the religion of the tribesmen. When their kings became Arian Christians, they abandoned heathenism; when their kings became Catholics, they were equally ready to adopt the new creed. The decision of the kings was hastened when the Franks came forward as a Catholic power.

Arianism was banished from Africa when the East Romans overthrew the Vandal kingdom there (534). In Italy it received a severe reverse when the Ostrogothic kingdom was destroyed (554), only to be revived with coming of a new Arian tribe, the Lombards (569); among the Lombards it lasted till 675. In Spain, the Visigoths were Arians until 589, but in that year their king (Reccared) professed conversion to the Catholic faith.[1] By 675, therefore the competition between these two forms of Christianity had ended, and the victory lay with Catholicism. It won its victory as Roman Christianity, and its acceptance carried with it some sort of acknowledgment of the primacy of the Roman bishop.

Among the German conquerors, the Franks were the most powerful.[2] Until they came into the Empire, they were a heathen tribe. Their conquests in the Rhinelands, in the fourth century, had actually

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[1] It was about this time that the so-called Athanasian Creed made its first appearance. It is surmised that it is the literary monument of the conversion of the Visigoths.

[2] See above, Chapter VII.

smothered out the Christian churches that had sprung up there under Roman rule. The greatest of their early kings was Clovis (481-511.)[3]

The Conversion of the Franks

Before his time the people had been divided into two tribes, the Salians and Ripuarians. He united them and led them to their greatest victories in Gaul and in the Low Countries. He was a typical barbarian ruler—cruel, treacherous, unscrupulous, but personally brave, and possessed of some of the qualities of statesmanship. In 496 Clovis became a Catholic Christian. Two generations later it was said that his conversion was the result of a battle with another German tribe, in which he had given himself up for lost. In this extremity he prayed to the god of his wife, who was a Catholic Christian, and when his prayer was followed by an unexpected victory, he had himself baptized. His conversion was the signal for thousands of his followers to forsake their heathen gods. The truth of the story may well be doubted, but it is a fact that Clovis was baptized by the bishop of Rheims, on Christmas Day, 496, and it is also a fact that his conversion brought with it a mass-conversion of his people. Of a real change of heart and life in king or people there is, of course, no trace; but they did pray to another god.

The results of the conversion of the Franks to Catholic Christianity were far-reaching. For one thing, it established the prestige of the Catholic Church among the other German nations. In 496 North

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[3] The traditional form of the name has been retained. In many modern books it appears in the older form, Clodowech or Chlodovech. It is an early form of the modern Ludwig or Louis.

Africa and Spain and Italy were ruled by Arian kings. It seemed that all Western Europe might become Arian territory. Clovis' profession of the Catholic faith prevented that. A second result was to identify the Frankish crown with Roman institutions. No other German people was so deeply influenced by Roman ideas as were the Franks. It was through the Catholic Church, with its center in Rome itself, that this Roman influence was brought to bear. A third result was to open to Catholic missionaries a door into the interior of Germany, for the Franks were the nation which formed the link between the Germans in the Empire and the Germans who remained in their ancient homes north of the Rhine and Danube. From the time of Clovis' conversion, the extension of Frankish conquests meant the extension of the Catholic Church.

Results of Their Conversion

In the sixth and seventh centuries the Church in Frankish lands enjoyed a period of marvelous prosperity. In 545 heathen sacrifices were forbidden under penalty of death, and by the end of the seventh century a large part of the land of France had been bestowed upon the Church in one way or another. The bishops and greater abbots commanded sources of wealth which were exceeded only by those of the very greatest nobles.

The Anglo-Saxons were the second great Germanic people to be converted from heathenism to Catholic Christianity. They had taken possession of Roman Britain after 400, and had found it, in some degree, a Christian land, for the missionaries had followed the Roman eagles across the Channel, and had made

large numbers of converts among the native population. Unlike the Goths and the Franks, the Angles and Saxons did not settle among the native population, but simply drove them out and took possession of their lands. The natives, carrying their religion with them, were pushed back into the mountains of Wales and Cornwall, and in the territories thus vacated the newcomers established ten separate kingdoms. Between the Britons and the invaders there was no intercourse, save of a warlike sort. The British Church was shut up in the mountains.

The British Church

The first missionaries to the Anglo-Saxons came from Ireland. Just when and how Ireland became a Christian land we do not know. There were Christians there before St. Patrick, but it is not incorrect to speak of him as the "apostle of Ireland." For Patrick, born in Britain about 389, labored in Ireland for almost thirty years (431-461) and was the organizer, if not the founder of the Irish Church. In the sixth century Ireland was thickly dotted with monasteries, and some of them, like Bangor and Clonard, were Christian centers of the first importance.

St. Patrick

The Irish monks were zealous missionaries. From Bangor and Clonard, preachers of the Gospel went to England and Scotland and to the Continent of Europe. The best known of the Irish missionaries to the Continent was Columba of Luxeuil. About 575, with twelve companions he went to France. His missionary work consisted largely in the founding of small monastic houses, which became centers of Christian

Columba of Luxeuil

influence. Some of them were in Christian territory, but he chose, by preference, the remoter districts, where the Church was still unorganized. One of his monasteries was planted in Switzerland (St. Gall), and another in Italy (Bobbio), among the Arian Lombards. At Bobbio he died in 615. He was but one of many. Of the rest, we know the names of only a few. There was a Eustathius who worked in Bavaria, a Killian, who labored in Franconia and Thuringia, and a Wicbert, who preached in Frisia. The work of these men produced no permanent churches, but it did much to prepare the way for the organizers, like St. Boniface.

In 563 the monastery of Clonard sent out its most important missionary colony. In that year another Columba crossed the sea to found a new monastery on the island of Hii (Iona), off the west coast of Southern Scotland. This monastery became the center of missionary effort among the inhabitants of Northwestern England and Southwestern Scotland. They formed contacts with the British Christians of Wales, and on the west coast of Britain a new British Church began to grow up. It was orthodox in doctrine, but in organization, and in certain of its outward forms, it differed from the Catholic Churches; it did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Roman pope.

Columba of Iona

In 635 the missionaries of Iona began to preach to the heathen of the east coast. They went at the request of the Saxon king of Northumbria and the hero of this enterprise was Aidan. To him the Northumbrian king gave the island of Lindisfarne (Holy Isle), where he founded a monastery like that of Iona, which

became the center of missionary operations. For thirty years this work continued, with marked success. Converts were made by many thousands, and Saxon youths were trained at Lindisfarne for work among their own people. The mission pushed southward from Northumbria into the neighboring kingdoms, but in the end it was the Roman, and not the British Church which reaped where Aidan and his comrades sowed.

The Roman Mission to Britain

Thirty-eight years before Aidan went to Northumbria, another mission had been planted in the southeastern corner of Britain. It came direct from Rome, and was sent out by the pope himself. That pope was Gregory I. It is said of him that it had been his purpose to become himself a missionary to Britain. His resolution had been taken in 585, when he had seen some strikingly beautiful Anglian boys on sale in the slave-market in Rome. But in 590 he was elected to the papacy, and thus prevented from carrying out his intention. In 595, however, he sent out a band of missionaries under strict instructions to proceed at once to Britain. At the head of the mission he placed the prior of his own old monastery, Augustin, afterwards first Archbishop of Canterbury.

After long delays, due in part to fear, the mission finally reached Britain in the Spring of 597, landing in Kent, where the king was one of the earliest converts. The work succeeded beyond the expectations of all except the pope. It had a double purpose, to make Christians and to found a church. The missionaries organized as they went, following a plan that had received the pope's approval. Bishops were appointed as new territories were opened, but all of

them were under the direction of the "Archbishop of the English," with his seat at Canterbury, and he was directly subject to the pope. The Roman mission made great headway in southern and central England, and at York, in Northumbria, there was a Roman archbishop when Aidan arrived there. It was only a matter of time till one or the other of these two mission churches would be compelled to give up the field. The real differences between the two were small—chiefly in organization and in the computation of the Easter date—but they were large enough to be a source of constant irritation. In 664, Oswy, king of Northumbria, determined to have but one Church in his dominions. At a synod, held at Whitby, the representatives of the two churches met in a debate. It concerned the Easter-date, but resolved itself into a discussion of the authority of the pope. When the king decided for the Roman custom, the Irish party acknowledged defeat, and gradually withdrew their missionaries, leaving the field to the representatives of Rome. The fruits of their labors were gathered by the church which the pope had planted.

The Synod of Whitby

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Roman Christianity was an event of the first importance to the Church. In the next three or four generations, they proved themselves to be the best of missionaries. It was the men of Britain, rather than the men of France, who carried the Gospel back into the heathen parts of Germany and into the Scandinavian lands and planted the Church there. The Church which they planted was the Church of Rome.

The first of the great English missionaries to the

Continent was Willibrord. He was a Saxon monk, born in Northumbria about 658. In 690 he entered upon missionary work in Frisia. He had chosen a difficult field, for the Frisians were among the least tractable of the German tribes. They were continually fighting with the Franks, who were endeavoring to conquer their lands and make them a part of the Frankish kingdom. This made them hostile to Christianity, for that was the religion of the Franks. Willibrord began his work by securing the permission of the Frankish king to preach in those parts of Frisia that had been conquered; then he went to Rome, and secured the authorization of the pope. Armed with this double authority he went to work. In 695 he was consecrated by the pope as archbishop, with his seat at Utrecht. In Frankish Frisia he met with some success, but in the parts of the land that were independent he found himself unable to get a hearing. Then he turned his attention to Denmark, and became the pioneer of Christian missions there. He met with small success, and satisfied himself, at last, with bringing back some Danish youths to France, to train them for future missionary effort in their homeland. He died at Utrecht in 739.

Willibrord

But the greatest figure among the English missionaries, indeed the greatest figure in the whole Church in his generation, was Boniface, "the apostle of the Germans." His name was Winfred, and he was born in Wessex some time before 675. He entered a monastery in early youth, and distinguished himself as a student and teacher of the classics. He wrote a Latin grammar and tried his hand at Latin poetry. His first efforts

St. Boniface

as a missionary were in Frisia, though after a brief stay there, he came back to England, but refused to be made an abbot, because his heart was still set on mission work in Germany. In 718 he went back to the Continent. This time he went direct to Rome and secured the pope's commission to preach to all unbelieving peoples.

The pope sent him first into Thuringia. There he found many Christians, converts made by Irish missionaries of the previous generation, but no well-organized Church. His work was to give the Christians of Thuringia an organization that would tie them to the Church at Rome. From Thuringia he went to Frisia again, where he spent almost two years assisting Willibrord. In 722 he began to preach in Hesse, making great numbers of converts and planting monasteries and schools. In 723 he went back to Rome and was consecrated "missionary bishop," taking an oath of allegiance to the pope; from there he went to the Frankish court and secured permission to preach in Hesse, Thuringia and Franconia. The next fifteen years were the most fruitful of his life. His mission-field was the whole of what we would call South-Central Germany. His activity was unremitting. He was preacher, organizer, director and educator. To assist him, he called monks and nuns over from England, and in the schools that he planted, young Germans were being trained for the priesthood. In 732 he was made archbishop.

His great ambition was to push the frontiers of the Church farther and farther to the North, and in 738 he received the pope's permission to enter Saxony, the most obstinately heathen land of all Germany. But

his start was delayed by some difficulties in Bavaria, and when these were cleared up, he was unexpectedly called into France to effect some desperately needed reforms in the Frankish Church. Thus it was not till 753 that he was able to get back to the work of an evangelist, which was the work he loved. He chose the land of Frisia as the place of his death. For after a single winter spent in preaching there, he was slain by a band of heathen while he was in the very act of administering the rite of confirmation to some of his converts. He died with a copy of the Gospels in his hands.

The Church, in all its history, has produced few greater men than Boniface. His greatness lay partly in his gifts, which were both many and varied; partly in his character with its pure unselfishness and deep humility; partly in his devotion to the Church as an organization. He did more than any other one man to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ into the interior of Germany; he also did more than any other to weld the Christian Germans into a church, and to tie this German Church to the Church at Rome.

It is largely to the work he did and the work he began that we owe the civilization of the Middle Ages.

CHAPTER IX.

The Popes and the German Nations (400-800 A. D.)

The effects of the Germanic invasions were felt nowhere more keenly than in Rome. They cut Rome off from the eastern portions of the Empire. The commerce of the world no longer flowed in and out of its markets; in wealth and population it sank to the level of a provincial town. It ceased to have any part in the government of the Empire which bore its name. Its position as the political center of the world was lost forever. But the decay of Rome's political greatness only prepared the way for the rise of a new world power in the ancient city—the power of the pope.

Effects of the Germanic Invasions

For two hundred years before the Germans came, the popes had been claiming superiority over other bishops.[1] Within certain limits, this superiority had been recognized. But so long as Rome was still in the great current of the Empire's life, the popes had rivals in the East—in Antioch and Alexandria and Constantinople. When the Germanic conquests cut the city off, that rivalry at once became less serious. For Rome was now in one world and its rivals in another. There was no hope that the pope could ever lord it over the Patriarch of Constantinople; but neither could Constantinople diminish Rome's great-

[1] See above, Chapter III.

ness in the West. There the pope's hands were free from eastern interference.

The interference from which the most was to be feared was not, however, that of patriarchs and bishops. It was rather the interference of the emperors. That, too, the German conquests ended. While the churches of the East were sinking into ever-increasing dependency upon the emperors, the Church of Rome was left free to break its own way up to the heights of spiritual power, because it was beyond the emperor's reach.

In all their striving after authority in the Church, the popes had had two great assets, which the Germanic conquests did not take away. One was the alleged authority of St. Peter, the other was the reputation of the city of Rome. The authority of Peter remained; and the glory of Rome, while sadly dimmed, was not destroyed. For the western churches, Rome still continued to be the natural rallying-point; and even among the barbarians the name of Rome was still a name to conjure with.

It is not surprising, therefore, to find the claims of the popes rising higher and higher, as the Germans pour into the Empire. Leo I was a young man in Rome when Alaric and his Visigoths demanded and received the tribute of the city in 410; he was on the papal chair when Attila, the Hun, led one of his great forays down to the city gates in 452; he was still pope in 455, when the Vandal pirates sacked the city and carried all its gold and silver away to Carthage. Nevertheless, it was Leo I who perfected the theory of papal authority in the Church, and flung the claims of the papacy in the face of the Robber Synod of

Ephesus and the Council of Chalcedon.[2] It was because he was out of the physical control of the emperor that Felix III was safe to excommunicate the patriarch of Constantinople (484) for yielding to imperial demands in the decision of matters of faith.

How large a part this freedom from imperial interference really played in the development of the papacy appears by contrast when we observe the place that the popes held in the time of Justinian I (525-565). The reign of Justinian witnessed a great temporary revival of imperial power. Justinian had two great aims—to reconquer the lands which the Germans had occupied and reorganize the revived Empire; and to enforce uniformity of doctrine in the Church. He succeeded in regaining Africa from the Vandals and Italy from the Ostrogoths. During the years that his generals were governing Rome, the three popes who successively occupied St. Peter's chair were all his nominees. One of them (Vigilius) ventured to disagree with an imperial decree, which was thought to imply a censure of the Council of Chalcedon, and after suffering the greatest humiliations ever put upon a pope, he died in an imperial prison. But Justinian died in 565, and four years later the Lombards came into Italy, freeing the popes once more from the despotism of the emperors.

Justinian

The outlook for the papacy was never darker than in the closing decades of the sixth century, but in 590 Rome got its greatest pope. When Gregory I (590-604) ascended the papal chair, the East Romans still held a part of Italy, but the Lombards held still more, and were threatening the rest. The Franks, indeed,

[2] See above, p. 57.

were Catholic Christians and the popes regarded them as in some sense their spiritual subjects, but the church among the Franks was really a national church, subject to the kings, and carrying its submission to the papacy no farther than to recognize the pope as a moral authority, an esteemed adviser. The Visigoths of Spain were the newest converts, but their king, too, was paying Rome no other tribute than respect. Among the bishops of the native churches the prestige of Rome had almost reached the vanishing-point. They had come to despise the feebleness with which the popes had tried to oppose the will of the emperor at Constantinople. "I have taken charge," wrote Gregory in his first year, "of an old and grievously shattered ship; the waves pour in on every side, and the planks, battered daily by violent storms, give sounds of ship-wreck."

Gregory the Great

Gregory came of a wealthy patrician family and was born about 540. He was educated for the Roman civil service, and in 573 he held the thankless, but honorable post of prefect of the city. About 576, however, he suddenly abandoned this career. His father had died, and his mother had become a nun, leaving him in possession of a great fortune. This he used for the foundation of no less than seven monasteries. In one of them—the former family-palace in Rome—he became a monk, giving himself to the study of the Scriptures and the Church Fathers, chiefly Augustin. But the needs of the Church soon called him out of the monastery. He became a deacon of the Roman Church, passing into the diplomatic service of the papacy, as the standing representative of the

pope at Constantinople (579-585). After another five years in his monastery, this time as abbot, he was chosen pope. He accepted with reluctance, dreading the difficulties less than the responsibilities of the office. Besides it had become his ambition to undertake a mission to Britain.

His fourteen years in the papal chair mark an epoch in the history of the papacy. For Gregory was a man of high ideals and full of ambition, not for himself, but for his church. And yet he was not a dreamer, but a practical man of affairs, a trained administrator and a skillful diplomat. Thus, while he never lost sight of his objectives, he was content to walk in their direction when to run would have meant to stumble.

As bishop, he became at once the foremost man in Rome, and the main problem of Roman existence in those days was to hold off the Lombards from the city. It was the pope and not the civil or military officers who solved the problem. He raised armies and paid the expenses of the war, and when occasion arose, he made peace with the Lombard king. He did this not by virtue of any special legal right, but because it had to be done and there was no one else to do it. Besides, he was a land owner. The Roman Church had great endowments, almost exclusively of land, which produced a vast annual income, used for defraying church expenditures.[3] Much of this land was in Italy, and owing to the weakness of the government, the land-owners were combining for the defence of their possessions. The mere fact that the bishop of Rome was doing these things, and was becoming the rallying center of the people of Italy, was a long step for-

[3] One item of this expenditure was the support of 3,000 nuns.

ward for the papacy. It forms the real beginning of the movement for temporal power, which was afterwards to be so large a part of the papal ambitions.

But Gregory's chief concern was with the Church itself. To keep the Church alive, he needed to organize its finances, and the Church has never had a more careful or exacting administrator of its business interests than this great pope. No detail was too small to escape his attention, though the holdings of the Church were scattered all over Italy and Sicily and Gaul and North Africa. The same attention to detail marked his dealings with more purely spiritual things —the life of the clergy, the distribution of their duties, the ritual of the services, even its music. In his dealings with churches outside of Rome, Gregory assumed to possess all the authority which Leo I had claimed. He speaks down to other bishops as to men whose duty it is to obey his commands. He rebuked the Patriarch of Constantinople sharply and sternly, and accused him of exorbitant pride, because he had dared to use the title of "universal bishop," which belonged to the pope alone. It was in this controversy that Gregory adopted, as the proudest title of a pope, the name of "servant of the servants of God."

But while burdened with all these cares, Gregory never ceased to labor for the extension of the Church among the barbarian settlers of Western Europe. He did what he could, which was little, to be sure, to bring the Arian Lombards over to the Catholic faith; he cultivated Reccared, the newly-converted Visigothic king; he sent out the missionary expedition which laid the foundation for the first papal church among the German peoples, the Church in England. And, with

it all, he found time to become the founder of the theology of the Middle Ages, for he was a student of the Scriptures and the Fathers, and a prolific writer. The impression which he left upon the history of the Church is indelible. For nine hundred years the thought and life of the Western Church bore the stamp of Gregory the Great.

During the century and a half that followed Gregory's death (604) the popes were deeply involved in the politics of Italy. Lombard and East Roman were contending for possession, though after 634 the energy of the East Romans was forced to center more and more completely on the defence of their Asiatic provinces against the Mohammedans.[4] The popes were nominally subjects of the emperors, but maintained virtual independence of both Lombard king and Eastern emperor, by playing the one against the other. Gradually they attained to recognized position as the real rulers of Rome and its adjoining territory. Their relations with Constantinople were never cordial, and early in the eighth century these relations were sharply broken by the refusal of the popes to obey the decree of Emperor Leo IX (717-741), forbidding the use of pictures and images in the churches. The Lombards supported the popes; the emperor had no armed forces to spare from his eastern wars; and after 732 the imperial power in Northern Italy practically came to an end, though the Greeks continued to hold the tip of the peninsula.

The Popes and the Empire

But the elimination of the Empire did not solve the popes' problem. They feared the Lombards even more

[4] See above, p. 76f.

than the emperors. To be sure, the Lombards were no longer a nation of heretics; they became Catholics about 675. But though Catholics, they yielded no obedience to the successors of St. Peter. The Church in Lombard lands was a Lombard church, governed and directed by the king. If Rome were to become a Lombard city, the pope could expect nothing else than to become a Lombard bishop. Therefore the popes began to look outside of Italy for some new military power to set against the Lombards. Their eyes turned naturally toward the Franks.

The Lombards

The Franks were Catholic Christians.[5] The churches of France were numerous, and they were rich. Among them were many that had existed for centuries before the advent of the Franks, and that had had intimate connections, in earlier days, with Rome. Under Frankish rule, however, these churches had all been combined into a Frankish Church, subject in all temporal matters to the kings, and taking no orders from the popes. In the sixth century it was a flourishing church, abounding in monasteries—a sign of genuine, if mistaken, zeal and devotion—and holding great endowments of land. But in the seventh century it met the fate that has come, sooner or later, to every church bound up too closely with the ruling State. For after 639, the Frankish kingdom was broken into fragments. There came a time of civil war and general confusion, bordering on anarchy. The great land-owners became the ruling power in France and vied with one another,

The Franks

[5] See above, p. 87 ff.

less for political power than for material gain. The Church became a prey of private interests. Bishops and abbots endeavored—often with success—to become great barons, while the barons strove to secure control over bishoprics and abbeys, and their lands.

After 687 there came a change. In that year, Pepin II reunited all the Franks in a single kingdom. For two hundred years he and his descendants—the Carolingians—ruled the Franks, and ultimately most of Western Europe. Under his son, Charles Martel (717-741), the Mohammedans were driven back to Spain,[6] and the Frankish lands began to grow again, this time toward the north and east. To him, in 739, Pope Gregory III appealed for aid against the Lombards. The appeal fell on deaf ears. The time for Frankish interference in Italy had not yet come. The pope needed the Franks, but the Frankish ruler did not yet need the pope.

The Rise of the Carolingians

Meanwhile Willibrord and Boniface had been at work in France and Germany.[7] Both of them were papal missionaries, though both of them also bore the commission of the Frankish rulers. Their purpose was not only to make converts, but to found a church among the Germans which would acknowledge the authority of Rome. The Franks were brought a step nearer to the popes, when (743) the sons of Charles Martel—Pepin the Short and Carloman—commissioned Boniface to undertake the desperately needed work of reforming the Frankish Church. While Boniface was still laboring at his task, Carloman became

[6] See above, p. 77.
[7] See above, p. 92 ff.

a monk, and left the ruling of the Franks to Pepin. It was not long till Pepin needed the pope's help.

For Pepin, though the ruler, was not the king. Neither his father nor his grandfather (Pepin II) had borne the royal title. They were "mayors of the palace," and though the kings were merely puppets in their hands, the mayors had not ventured to assume the crown, for the precedent of centuries had made it a law among the Franks that the king must be a member of the house of Merovech. In 751 Pepin decided to be king in name as well as in fact. To make the act legitimate, he needed, or believed that he needed, the sanction of some higher authority. He desired to become "king by the grace of God," rather than king by the power of his own arm. Therefore he resorted to the pope, asking him, as the highest earthly authority on questions of morals, whether it was right that they who had not the power should have the name of kings. The pope replied that it was not right. Then Pepin assumed the crown. Three years later, as king of the Franks, he entered Italy with the avowed intention of righting the wrongs which the Lombards had inflicted on the popes. In two campaigns he forced the Lombards to give up large lands in Northern Italy, and turned them over to the popes. This cemented the alliance between the papacy and the Frankish kingdom. The popes had little more to fear from the Lombards, for they had become protegees of the Franks.

Pepin the Short and the Pope

The lands taken from the Lombards formed, with Rome and its environs, the "States of the Church," around which some of the bitterest battles of the next

eight hundred years were to be fought.[8] The pope held them by grace of the Frankish king. But not satisfied with that, someone at the papal court invented, about this time, a clearer title. It was alleged that when Constantine established his capital at Constantinople (330), he gave to the papacy, as a perpetual possession, the city of Rome and "the western regions." The "Donation of Constantine," as the document was called, was forged in Rome. It is one of the clumsiest forgeries in history, but its genuineness went unchallenged until the fourteenth century, and was not disproved until the sixteenth. Meanwhile, it served the purpose for which it was made, for it did seem to give the popes a right to temporal power.

The Donation of Constantine

[8] The last relic of the States of the Church is the pope's possession of Vatican. The papal rule over the city of Rome was not abolished until 1870.

CHAPTER X.

The Empire of Charles the Great

In 768 the kingdom of Pepin the Short passed to his two sons, Charles and Carloman; three years later Carloman died, and for the next forty-three years (771-814) Charles ruled alone. History knows him by no other name than that of Charlemagne, or Charles the Great. In him the Germanic peoples produced their second great political genius. Theodoric the Ostrogoth (493-526) had been the first, but he had lived before his time. The life-work of Charles was to consolidate Western Europe into a single empire.

He was a military genius of the first order, the greatest between Julius Cæsar and Napoleon Bonaparte. Under his rule the Franks became a nation of conquerors. Before his death he held under his dominion lands as large as those that had been governed by the emperors at Rome. True, he never held all the lands that they possessed, but to make up for them, he ruled the whole of Germany; the Baltic was his northern boundary. In the lands he conquered, and in those that he inherited, he proved himself an organizer and administrator of the highest type. He governed them by an autocratic system of the utmost simplicity and effectiveness, though its success depended, ultimately, on the possession of military force. From about 800 on, Western Europe, from the Pyrenees to the Baltic,

Charles, King of the Germans

had a single government. Under this government the cultural possessions of France and Italy, the civilizing ideas, inherited, through the Church, from the old Roman Empire, became the property of the northern tribes.

In the history of the Church, Charles the Great is the dominant figure of his century. For in his empire Church and State were a single entity; the State was the body, the Church its soul. The empire which he founded was a Christian empire. It was his will that it should be so. In all his conquests Christianity followed the flag. To be a subject of Charles the Great meant to be a Christian, at least in name. The convictions and desires of the conquered were not consulted. His dealings with the heathen Saxons are typical. When he overthrew their kingdom (785) he made a law for them to live by. In it he forbade the practice of any heathen rites, even the cremation of the dead, on pain of death, and decreed that all children must be brought to baptism in their first year, that all people must go to church on Sundays and festivals, and that each community must provide itself with a local church, giving it a specified amount of land and paying tithes for its support. Among the tribes which he incorporated in his empire were many that had stubbornly refused admission to Christian missionaries, like the Saxons and the Northern Frisians. The result was a great numerical addition to the Church, though the missionary methods of the Frankish king, in which profession preceded conviction, were somewhat more than dubious.

Charles and the Church

Whether Charles the Great ever made a distinction

between Christianity as a faith, and the Church, as the institution for the maintenance and extension of that faith, may well be doubted. To him the spread of Christianity meant the extension of the Church, and the maintenance of Christianity the maintenance of the Church. Since it was his will that his empire should be Christian, he conceived it to be his duty to guide and defend, as well as to extend the Church. When he conquered heathen territory his first care was to see that its inhabitants were baptized; his next care was to introduce a regular church-organization. When he added new Christian territory, he saw to it that the church-organization there was brought into line with that of the rest of his dominions. Over the Church thus organized he exercised a complete, and, on the whole, a wise control. The bishops, on whom all depended, were practically his appointees, and his promotions to the episcopate were usually of men who had proved their integrity as well as their ability. Under his government the Church received a higher type of bishops than it had previously had. The best of the churchmen were appointed to civil offices, especially at court, and were used on special political missions.

Over the work of all these bishops, and their clergy, the great king kept a watchful eye. When they were accused of offences against the laws, they were tried in his courts; when the Romans (799) charged Pope Leo III with high crimes and misdemeanors, Charles took the case into his own jurisdiction. Synods were held each year for the discussion of church affairs, but the decisions of the synods were published by the king,

Laws for the Church

and were the law of the State. He took monastic institutions under his direction, and made the Rule of St. Benedict the only rule that might be followed in his dominions. He established educational standards for the clergy, and ordered that those who could not pass examinations in the reading of Latin should be suspended from office. He made the monasteries and cathedral churches educational centers, providing by law that each of them should maintain a school, and for the supervision of education in his realm he called in men from other lands, notably the famous Anglo-Saxon, Alcuin (c735-804). It is scarcely going too far to number Charles the Great among the real reformers of the Church.

The climax of his career came in the year 800. Twenty-six years before, Charles had completed the conquest of Italy. He had destroyed the remnants of the Lombard kingdom, and placed the pope definitely in possession of the lands that Pepin the Short had given to the papacy. On Christmas Day 800, Pope Leo III placed on his head the crown of the Roman Empire. By this act he created "the Roman Empire of the Middle Ages," afterwards known as the Holy Roman Empire. It was a symbolic act. It added nothing to the real power or authority of the great Frankish conqueror. But that crown was a symbol of a power for which the men of the time had the profoundest veneration. They believed that the Roman Empire was eternal, that it would exist, by God's decree, until the end of time. To it God had committed the right to rule the world. Kings who were strong enough might defy its power and refuse obedience to its com-

Charles Roman Emperor

mands, but in so doing they were flying in the face of divine authority. Rulers who held their thrones without its sanction could not be kings by the grace of God. This coronation, therefore, was regarded as a divine sanction of the rulership which Charles was already exercising. The name of emperor was only a title, to be sure, but it was a title that carried with it the notion of divine right. From the time of its bestowal Charles regarded himself the legitimate successor of all the emperors since Augustus. In 813 his title was recognized at Constantinople.

The pope had performed the act of coronation. What right had he to do it? The popes of later days claimed that he possessed the right because he was the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Christ on earth. His power was God-given, and extended to the State, as well as to the Church.

Charles and the Pope

Moreover Constantine[1] had given to the pope the Empire of the West, and he could grant it to another, if he chose; and if he could give it, he could also withhold it or withdraw it; the pope, therefore, had the same right to depose an emperor as to set one up. This was emphatically not the view of Charles the Great, for in 813 he caused his son, Louis, to take the imperial crown from the high-altar of the cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle and set it on his own head. In that coronation the pope had no part whatsoever. As a matter of fact, the pope's act in crowning Charles in 800 would seem to have been not one of lordship, but of submission. Charles already had the power which had once belonged to the Roman Empire and the will to exercise that power

[1] See above, p. 106.

in imperial fashion, ruling the Church as well as the State. The one institution that might claim exemption from his rulership was the papacy, for the Church, too, existed by divine right, and the pope was its titular head. By the bestowal of the crown, the one institution which represented the rule of God on earth acknowledged the Frankish king as rightful head of the other institution, which also represented God. In so doing, the pope tacitly admitted the right of Charles the Great to do as all emperors had done, and rule the Church.

Few single acts in history have had the lasting consequences that this coronation had. "It tied the knot which the whole Middle Ages labored in vain to loose." From the year 800 on, the Western world knew two divine institutions, papacy and Empire. What were their respective spheres? When their interests clashed, which must give way? These questions lie at the root of the political history of the Roman Church for the next six hundred years.

CHAPTER XI.

Empire and Church (800-1198 A. D.)

The empire which Charles the Great established was of short duration. Three generations had created it, for Charles had built on the foundations laid by Charles Martel and Pepin the Short; the next three generations destroyed it utterly.

Two forces worked at its destruction. One of them was racial. The peoples whom Charles had ruled were all of Germanic origin, but some of them, like the Franks themselves, had lived for generations in Roman lands. They had intermarried with the older native stock, and this intermarriage had produced a new race. The inhabitants of France and Italy and Northern Spain were no longer blood-brothers of the Germans of the North; at best they were second cousins. Ultimately the Empire fell into two main divisions, formed on racial lines. These divisions were France and Germany. Between them was a zone where the two races mingled, and this became their battle-ground. It included the Rhinelands and the territories that we know as Alsace and Lorraine. Italy belonged to neither of these two divisions; but Italy was never able to stand alone. For a time the French controlled it, then it became the nominal possession of the Germans, though it was only occasionally that they could really govern it.

Racial Divisions: France and Germany

The French and German portions of the Empire

split apart as early as 817. For a century both were ruled by descendants of Charles the Great, but by 920 the Carolingian house was extinct. The title of emperor was still used. It was borne by the head now of one, now of the other Carolingian line, but after 918 it became the sole possession of the kings of Germany. The Empire became "the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation." Each king of Germany received the name of "king of the Romans"; when crowned by the pope he became "Roman Emperor." The name carried with it much honor, but no power at all. When its bearer happened to possess great power without the title, he might try, with some success, to govern Italy; but when, as happened oftener, he was holding his German crown only with difficulty, the imperial title was the emptiest of honors. Yet it was an honor which the kings of Germany esteemed. It seemed to attach them, in a legitimate succession, to the line of Roman emperors who had been the rulers of the world, and the greatest of them dreamed that they might one day recreate the empire of Charles the Great, conquer all Western Europe, and set up a world-government at Rome. The crown of the Empire symbolized the right to world power, and though men might be without the power, they craved the right to wield it.

The Holy Roman Empire

The second divisive force was feudalism. It is the characteristic political and social institution of the Middle Ages. Its beginnings reach far back of Charles the Great, but it did not reach its full development till the eleventh century. In the feudal system all political and military

Feudalism

power was connected with the holding of land. The land-owner let his land to tenants, and was repaid not only with products of the soil, but in personal services. The obligation to personal service made the tenant a "vassal," the land-owner his "over-lord," or "liege lord." The vassal took an oath of "homage," or personal allegiance, swearing to be his lord's man to protect and defend his person and his property, and to furnish him at certain times with a specified military outfit. The vassal, too, might let the land, for which he owed services, to other tenants who became his vassals, and subvassals of his over-lord. Thus every land-owner was the actual or possible possessor of military power.

Under this system a genuine central government was all but impossible. It tended to break the entire body politic into an indefinite number of little states. A combination of great nobles could at any time dethrone a king or render him a mere figurehead, for if they conspired to disobey him he was left powerless. There were but two bonds which held a feudal State together; one was respect for the oath of homage, the other was self-interest. To insure obedience a feudal king had usually to make it worth his vassals' while. If race-distinctions tended to divide the Carolingian empire into a few large units, feudalism tended to break these units into many smaller parts. The four centuries that followed Charles the Great were the hey-day of the feudal nobility. The whole thing was "confusion, roughly organized."

In this confusion the Church was deeply involved. For the Church was enormously rich in lands. It owned not less than one-fourth of all the land of

France and Italy, and ultimately of Germany. But it did not hold these lands as a unit; strictly speaking, it was not the Church, but a large number of churches and church institutions, that held them. A parish church would have a modest holding; a bishop's church might hold as much as a great noble; so might a monastery. The tenants of such lands were vassals of the Church, the bishop or the abbot their over-lord, while he himself owed feudal service to some higher land-owner, a great noble or oftener the king. In this way the men of the Church were a party to all the political quarrels of Europe, even though the quarrels might be purely local. Many times it was only the support of the churchmen that kept a king upon an insecure and tottering throne, and on the church lands, and the power that went with them, the nobles were always looking with covetous eyes. When unable to usurp these lands, kings and nobles naturally desired to control the appointments of the men who administered them; when sure of control over the appointments, the kings, at least, were inclined to be generous donors of even greater holdings. Thus the more important church officials were forced to take a hand in all sorts of purely temporal affairs.[1] The administration of the Church's wealth, and of the rights of government that went along with it, absorbed their energy, to the exclusion, frequently, of spiritual duties. Thus the Church was secularized. Nevertheless, the men of the Church were always conscious that they were not merely men of the world. They

Feudalism and the Church

[1] The membership of the English bishops in the House of Lords is a relic of these feudal conditions.

claimed for the Church an origin independent of the State and maintained that Church and State were not one institution, but two. They asserted that their wealth and power were necessary to support their position as the spiritual rulers and guides of men. The great problem of the medieval Church was how to free itself from worldliness without surrendering its worldly wealth and power.

The whole Church centered, in theory, around the papacy. After the division of the Frankish Empire, it became the single international power in Europe. Its claims to spiritual authority were absolute. So long as they went no farther than that they were not seriously disputed. But the papacy, too, was entangled in temporal affairs.

The Papacy

The popes held large lands in Italy, and claimed that these lands belonged to them by gift.[3] They also claimed the right to control the organization of the Church in every kingdom, which included the right to confirm all the bishops and many of the abbots. These claims led them inevitably into conflicts with the civil powers. The kings could not allow the control over church appointments to pass out of their own hands without imperiling their own power, but so long as the kings had this control, the pope's power over the Church could never be complete.

To enforce their claims the popes had only spiritual weapons. The chief of these were ban and interdict. The ban was excommunication. It deprived the man against whom it was pronounced of all the benefits of the Church, and made him an outcast from Christian society; it absolved all Christians from any obliga-

[3] See above, p. 106.

tions to him which they might have taken. The interdict prohibited the clergy from officiating anywhere within the territory on which the interdict was laid. By turning these weapons against a king, the popes might accomplish his deposition; they could at least render his position insecure, for they were an open invitation to his subjects to rise in rebellion. The king, thus threatened, had but one possible reply. It was to tighten his hold upon the property and the organization of the Church in his dominions. If he happened to be strong enough, he might even set up a rival pope. Thus the conflicts between the popes and the civil rulers moved constantly in a vicious circle. Every movement for church reform aimed at the emancipation of the church organization from secular control, and every such effort strengthened the determination of the rulers to hold fast to their power over the Church. If the Church could have renounced its temporal wealth and temporal authority, the vicious circle would have been broken, but for that solution of the problem the Church was not ready.

The bitterest conflicts were those between the popes and the German kings, who bore the name of Roman emperors. In all of them the popes' claims to rulership in Italy were at stake. Each of them was a tragedy, and it was a part of the tragedy that it was the emperors who gave the popes, each time, the power that was turned against their successors.

In 963 the papacy had reached the lowest depths of moral degradation. It had become a local Roman institution, dominated by petty Italian nobles. For fifty years the popes, who claimed to be heads of the Church and vicars of Christ on earth, had been the

paramours or the bastards of the infamous Countess Theodora, or of one of her two daughters, Marozia and Theodora "III." In 963, Otto I (936-973) came down from Germany, held a synod in Rome which deposed the reigning pope (John XII), and compelled the Romans to take an oath that they would never elect another pope without first receiving his approval of the candidate. For the next forty years the popes were the nominees of the emperors. The result was an immediate improvement in the papacy. The Ottos[1] believed that popes of their own choosing could be entrusted with large powers, and endeavored, in the interest of a purer Church, to strengthen the papal office. But after the death of the third Otto, the imperial control was lost. The papacy became once more the football of the petty Roman nobles, and in 1046 its condition was almost as bad as it had been a century before.

Otto I and the Papacy

Meanwhile an important movement for reform had been gaining headway in the Church outside of Italy. It had taken its rise in France, where the monastery of Cluny (founded 910) was its center, and had spread from France into Germany. It aimed at two things—the abolition of clerical marriages and the emancipation of the Church from lay-control. The one place where this idea had failed to take strong hold was Rome. In 1046 the Emperor, Henry III (1039-1056), forced this reform upon the Roman Church. Three men were claiming the papal chair. Henry appeared at Rome, had all three claimants deposed,

The Cluniac Reformation

[1] Otto II (973-983), Otto III (983-1002).

and forced the election of a pope of his own choice, whose three successors he also named. All four of these men were Germans, and all were devoted friends of church reform. The ablest of them was Leo IX (1049-1054). He placed the papacy at the head of the reform-movement and gave it a third objective—the establishment of papal control over the whole Church. It was Henry III who thus prepared the way for the first great struggle between Empire and papacy.

The Age of Hildebrand

Among the clergy of the Roman Church was a deacon, by the name of Hildebrand, whom Leo IX appointed cardinal. He was in the early thirties when Leo died, but became, almost at once, the ruler of the papacy. For almost twenty years he made the popes and dictated their policies.[4] In 1073 he was himself made pope, taking the name of Gregory VII (1073-1085). Hildebrand had deep convictions about the dignity of the papal office. They have been handed down in a document, composed by one of his cardinals, and known as the "Dictatus." Here it is stated, among other things, that "The Roman Church was founded by God alone; that the Roman pope alone can with right be called universal; that he alone may use the imperial insignia; that his feet only shall be kissed by all princes; that he may depose emperors; that he himself may be judged by no one; that the Roman Church has never erred, nor will it err to all eternity." With this exalted idea of the papal dignity, Hildebrand combined a genuine zeal for the moral reforma-

[4] Of one of these popes a contemporary said: "Hildebrand fed him in the Lateran, as one feeds an ass in a stable."

tion of the Church. To accomplish this moral reformation, he believed it necessary to take the right of appointment to church positions out of the hands of the laity, and centralize it in the pope. These views, if pressed, were sure to bring him into conflict with the secular rulers.

The actual clash was not long in coming. Henry IV (1056-1106) was but a child when his father died. During his minority, Hildebrand was free to make his preparations for the inevitable battle. It broke out in 1076. The issue on which it was fought was the right of the emperor to name the incumbents of bishoprics and abbacies and invest them with the insignia of office. For this reason the whole episode is known as the Investiture Controversy. In the course of the struggle the pope excommunicated the emperor, and plotted with the German nobles for the election of a successor. The plan to depose the emperor was frustrated only by an act of unexampled humiliation. Henry stood for three days outside the castle of Canossa, where Gregory then was staying, suing for the papal pardon and restoration to the communion of the Church. It was granted with reluctance, after which the emperor took up the fight again. This time he declared the pope deposed and set up a rival pope. Before the battle had concluded, Gregory had died, in exile from Rome, Henry IV had died, and his son, Henry V (1106-1125), had been reigning for sixteen years. For forty years Germany had had an "anti-pope," and the parts of it that the emperor could control had refused obedience to the popes at Rome. It ended as a drawn battle. In the Concordat of Worms

The Investiture Controversy

(1122) pope and emperor agreed to divide between them the right of confirmation of bishops and abbots. So evenly balanced were the two opposing parties that neither could win a victory. Indeed a victory for either side would have been disastrous. A complete victory for the popes would have rendered every throne in Europe insecure, and especially the throne of the German Empire; a victory for the emperors would have completely secularized the Church.

A generation later, the struggle broke out again. Frederick I (1152-1190), better known as Barbarossa, the "Red-beard," was the greatest German monarch after Charles the Great. At no time in his long reign was his control over his own kingdom seriously threatened. There he was master of the feudal nobles, as he was master also of the Church. But his ambitions reached beyond Germany; it was his purpose to rule Italy also. This purpose clashed with the interests of the papacy, for it would mean the submission of the popes to the emperor and the virtual loss of the States of the Church. It also clashed with the ambitions of the North Italian cities. They had grown in wealth and population, were gradually fighting themselves free from the domination of the feudal counts and dukes, and were aiming at complete independence.

Frederick Barbarossa

Against Frederick, Pope Hadrian IV (1154-1159) and the North Italian cities formed an alliance. But Hadrian died before hostilities broke out, and in the next election the cardinals divided.[5] The majority

[5] The name of "cardinal" was by this time restricted to the clergy actually or nominally ministering in certain specified

voted for one of their own number, who took the name of Alexander III (1159-1181); the rest voted for another cardinal (Octavian) who immediately laid claim to the papal office. Frederick decided to support Octavian, whom Alexander III excommunicated in 1160, along with all who acknowledged him, which included, of course, the emperor. For seventeen years the emperor was under excommunication and through all those years there was an "anti-pope" supported by the emperor and recognized in Germany and parts of Italy as the true successor of St. Peter. The struggle became an armed conflict between Barbarossa and the North Italian cities—the Lombard League. The emperor was not strong enough to dethrone the pope, and the pope could make no headway against the emperor in Germany. In 1176 the army of the league inflicted a crushing defeat upon the emperor's German soldiery and Frederick, realizing the futility of further conflict, made his peace with the pope.

This second struggle, like the first, resulted in a drawn battle. Whatever advantage there was on either side lay with the papacy. The greatest of all the German emperors had been unable to gain control of Italy. So long as that situation continued to exist, the papacy could not become a mere appendage or department of the Empire, and the popes could deal with the emperors on the same terms as with the other kings of Europe. Barbarossa died in 1190, leaving the crown to his son, Henry VI (1190-1198), whose

churches in Rome or its neighborhood. In 1586 their number was fixed at seventy; in the eleventh and twelfth centuries it was usually around thirty. In 1059 the right to elect the pope was placed in their hands; it had formerly belonged to all the clergy and people of the city.

wife was heiress to the kingdom of Sicily. Her rights there gave the emperor a new foothold in Italy, and it seemed for a time that he might become master of the whole peninsula, as he planned. In that case the papacy would have fallen entirely into his power. But Henry's plans were ended by his early death. When he died (1198 A.D.) he left one son, a three-year-old boy, Frederick II.

CHAPTER XII

The Church in the World (800-1198 A. D.)

The story of the Church's life during these troubled centuries—ninth to thirteenth—is more than a chronicle of conflicts between emperors and popes. The Church was growing. Earlier reference has been made to the missionary policy of Charles the Great.[1] That policy was followed by his successors. Wherever the power of the Empire reached the influence of Christianity went with it, and wherever that power was established the Church was planted. But the boundaries of the Church were extended farther still. The Scandinavian countries became Christian lands. The pioneer in this work was Ansgar. In 826 Harald, king of Denmark, and his family were baptized in Germany, and when they returned to Denmark, Ansgar went with them to preach the Gospel to the heathen Danes. But one year later Harald was driven from his kingdom, and Ansgar went to Sweden, where his mission was for a time successful. In 831 he became the first archbishop of Hamburg, entrusted with the superintendence of missions in all the Scandinavian lands. But the work of Ansgar, like that of many another of these medieval missionaries, was hampered and all but destroyed, because his missionary methods were political. Religion was still a matter of the tribe or the nation.

Growth of the Church

Ansgar, 801-65

[1] See above, p. 108.

The conversion of a ruler meant the conversion of his people, the accession of a new ruler might mean the expulsion of the missionaries. So it was in Scandinavia. It was missionaries from England who finally established the Church in those lands.

Scandinavia

In 995 King Olaf brought them into Norway, and compelled his people to accept Christianity. When Canute the Great of Denmark (1014-1035) conquered Eastern England, he appointed English bishops for his realm of Denmark and forbade heathenism there. It was an English bishop, too, who baptized Olaf, king of Sweden, in 1008. By 1050 the Church was firmly planted in all these lands and in the islands of the Northern seas.

The Slavic peoples, too, came under Christian tutelage. They were the Eastern neighbors of the Germans, settled along the south coast of the Baltic Sea and from there far into the interior of Europe.

The Slavs

When, in the sixth and seventh centuries, the Germans moved southward from the Danube into Roman lands,[2] multitudes of these Slavs came down to take their place. They occupied the whole Balkan peninsula and pushed far down into Greece. Thus they formed a solid wedge of heathenism between the Greek Christians of the East and the Germanic Christians of the West.

The attack of Christianity upon this new stronghold of heathenism in Europe proceeded from three directions—from Germany, from Constantinople and from Rome. The most famous of the missionaries who labored in this new field were the two brothers,

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[2] See above, p. 78 ff.

Cyril and Methodius.[3] They were sent out from Constantinople, but afterwards they transferred their allegiance to the pope, thus adding to the causes of dissension between the two great churches. Their work was done among the South Slavs of Moravia. They converted great numbers of them to Christianity and became the real founders of Slavonic literature.

Cyril and Methodius

But Cyril and Methodius were only two of the many missionaries who planted the Cross in Slavic lands. By the end of the tenth century the Slavic tribes upon the borders of the older Christian peoples had become Christian, and when, about the year 900, a new race descended from the northeast and founded the Hungarian kingdom they, too, were speedily brought under Christian influence. In 866 the mission-work of the Greek Church among the Russians began to bear its first fruit, and when, in 988, the Grand-duke Vladimir received baptism and married a Greek princess, the establishment of the Church in Russia was made secure. In the twelfth century, therefore, the boundaries of the Church in Europe were more widely extended than ever before. Except for a few districts along its northern and eastern borders, Europe was a Christian continent.

The Church in Europe had two grand divisions—East and West. The Eastern Church looked to Constantinople as its center of authority, the Western Church looked to Rome. Between the two sees there was bitter rivalry. More than once the popes had broken sharply with the patriarchs. The reasons were some-

Rome and Constantinople

[3] The date of their activity was 863-867.

times doctrinal, more frequently the quarrels were caused by disputes over jurisdiction. The competition for authority over the new Slavic churches, especially in Bulgaria, was particularly keen. But the real causes lay deeper. Constantinople represented an older culture than did Rome. It had fallen heir to the Greek tradition, and when Antioch and Alexandria fell into Moslem hands it stood as the sole representative of Greek Christian life and thought. After the German invasions the Greeks looked down upon the Romans as barbarized, while the Romans regarded the Greek patriarchs as upstarts in the Church, connected by no glorious tradition with the apostles.

In 1054 the breach between Rome and Constantinople opened again. It never has been healed. The separation came like a bolt from the clear sky. While representatives of the two churches were in the midst of negotiations for closer unity, the Patriarch Michael addressed a letter to the bishops of Southern Italy in which he recited all the alleged errors of the Church of Rome. The differences of ritual between the Greeks and Romans were cited to show that Rome had departed from the true way. The Romans forbade their clergy to marry, while the Greeks permitted it; they used unleavened bread in the Eucharist and omitted the "Hallelujah" from the liturgy during Lent; they confessed in the creed that the Holy Ghost "proceeded from the Father and the Son," while the Greeks said, "from the Father." At the same time the patriarch forbade the use of Roman ceremonies in Constantinople. The pope endeavored to have the letter and decree withdrawn, but without success.

The Schism Between East and West

Then, on July 16, 1054, two cardinals, acting for the pope, laid a decree of excommunication upon the high altar of the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople. As they left the church they shook the dust off of their feet against it. The patriarch replied by excommunicating Rome, and the schism between East and West was complete.

But before the century was out the Greeks needed Roman help. The Empire at Constantinople was in desperate straits. In the ninth century a new Mohammedan power had arisen in Persia. The Seljukian Turks had begun to fight their way upward toward supremacy over the Moslem world.

The Crusades

In the eleventh century they pushed their conquests westward, and secured possession of Syria and Palestine and a large part of Asia Minor, which they wrested from the Greek ruler at Constantinople. In 1081 the Eastern Empire was facing that destruction which finally overtook it in 1453. In these circumstances the emperor had recourse to the Roman Christians of the West. His repeated appeals to the pope led ultimately to the beginning of the crusades.

The crusades were armed expeditions against the Mohammedans of Asia, and later of Africa, for the recovery and maintenance of the holy places of the Christian faith. They were undertaken at the bidding of the Church, and their chief significance in the Church's history lies in the fact that in them the soldiers of the West placed their swords at the disposal of the Church. The period of the crusades runs from 1098 to 1270. The first crusade, which left Europe in 1098, succeeded, after many hardships, in recovering Jerusalem and a large part of Palestine.

In that land the crusaders set up a government, the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, which lasted for the greater part of two hundred years. During all of this time, fighting-men were constantly going to the East in larger or smaller numbers, for the purpose of extending the Christian conquests, or of assisting the crusaders already there to hold what they had won.

The story of the crusades belongs to secular, rather than to religious history. The motives which sent the knights of Europe into Asia to war against the Mohammedans were not always pure, but underlying the whole great movement was an idea that was drawn directly from the Church's teaching. It was the notion that to fight against the infidel was a good work, earning Christ's favor, and winning for those who performed it spiritual rewards, the forgiveness of sin and entrance into Paradise.

This same idea of the merit of good works produced the new monasticism of the twelfth century. In the days of Charles the Great the rule of St. Benedict was universal in the monasteries of his empire.[4] There were however, no "monastic orders." Each house was a separate establishment, self-governing, and more or less subject to the oversight of the local bishop. But the tenth century witnessed not only a revival of the monastic ideal, but the rise of a new kind of monastic organization. It began with the foundation of the monastery at Cluny, in Aquitaine. The house at Cluny was endowed by the Duke of Aquitaine, and its charter, granted in 910, provided that it was to be free from all outside interference. It was to be

The New Monasticism

[4] See above, Chapter VI.

governed by the Benedictine Rule, but no secular noble, nor any local bishop, was to have any authority over it. It was placed directly under the protection of "St. Peter and St. Paul," *i.e.*, of the pope. Thus guarded against the influences that would have forced corruption into it, the house developed a strict government that was in glaring contrast with the generally low state of the monasteries of France. It attracted inmates very rapidly, and soon the abbot of Cluny was head of a half-dozen other houses. Their inmates were all regarded as, in theory, members of the house at Cluny. In this way there grew up the first of the Benedictine "congregations." The houses multiplied, and before the year 1100, there were Cluniac monasteries in Spain, in Italy and even in England, all of them governed from a single center by the abbot of the parent house. Two other similar movements began in Lorraine about 950. The monks of these reformed houses were the real leaders in the widespread movement for church-reform.[5]

Between 1076 and 1100 four new monastic orders arose in France. Two of them were of great importance. The Carthusian order was founded in 1084 at Charta (*La Grande Chartreuse*). The purpose of the founder, Bruno, was to restore the conditions of the hermit-life. The discipline of the monastery was of the utmost severity. The monks were forbidden all intercourse with the outside world, and so far as possible, even with one another. The success of the new venture was immediate, and in the next century it became an international organization. The

Carthusians and Cistercians

[5] See above, p. 119 f.

other order was the Cistercian. In 1098 a certain Robert of Molesme founded a new monastery at Citeaux (*Cistercium*). For fifteen years the house had but few inmates, but in 1113 it received into its membership the man who was to become the great saint of the twelfth century, Bernard, afterwards of Clairvaux. Two years later a second monastery was needed, and in 1118 Bernard gave the new order its rule. This rule was epoch-making. It provided that each Cistercian house was to have its own abbot, and that these abbots should meet annually at Citeaux to legislate for all the houses. Each abbot had the duty to enforce the laws there made, and the abbots of the older houses exercised a certain oversight over the younger monasteries. The privilege of exemption from episcopal control, which the Cluniacs valued so highly, is not found in the Cistercian rule. The Cistercians preferred to allow the bishop all his rights, for they desired their order to be a part of the regular machinery of the Church. The rule emphasized the requirement that the monks must labor, and defined the sphere of labor as first of all the provision of their own support. The Cistercian monks were to live by the sweat of their brow. Everywhere that a Cistercian monastery was founded the locality received a new community of farmers, and the monks of this order were pioneers in the art of agriculture throughout Europe. Still another feature of the rule, which other orders quickly copied, was the division of the inmates into two classes—monks and lay-brothers. It was the latter who did the manual labor of the monasteries, so that the monks themselves might be given

the greatest opportunity for contemplation and study and the performance of their more strictly spiritual tasks. The growth of the order was phenomenal. In 1115 it had two houses, in 1130, thirty; in 1140, one hundred and forty-three; in 1153, two hundred and eighty-three; in 1200, five hundred and twenty-nine. They were located in all the lands of Europe.

Along with this great increase in monastic houses went another movement of a similar kind for the regulation of the life of the parish clergy. In the larger churches, especially the cathedrals, where there was need for a considerable number of clergy, it became the custom to have them live together under a monastic rule, though none of them, of course, were monks. The rule that was most used was the so-called "Rule of St. Augustin," and the clergy living under it were known as Augustinian Canons. This attempt to give the parish clergy a monastic form of organization even went so far that a regular order of such clergy came into existence. It was known as the Premonstratensian order, and was founded at Premontre in 1120.

The Regular Canons

But it required the foundation of the military orders to show how completely the spirit of the age was dominated by the monastic ideal. The original home of these orders was Palestine and their original work was war against the infidels. The two most famous of them were the Templars and the Hospitallers. In the next century a third great order, the Teutonic Knights, was founded on their model. The order of Knights of the Temple was established about 1119,

The Military Orders

when eight knights, living in Jerusalem, bound themselves by an oath to protect the pilgrims along the dangerous way that led from the sea-coast up to Jerusalem. At the same time they took the monastic vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. It was not long before the order began to have connections outside of Palestine. It got its members from the aristocracy, and soon had its stations in many countries of Europe, though its chief recruiting-ground was France. The rule of the order, adopted in 1130, made it possible for it to receive married knights into a sort of associate membership, and the possessions of the order in Europe grew with marvelous rapidity. After the failure of the crusades had ended the special work for which it was established, the order continued to exist as a European organization, until it was dissolved by the pope because of its political activity in France, in 1312. The Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John, were founded about the same time as the Templars, undertaking as their especial duty, the care of homeless pilgrims in the Holy Land. It, too, was a knightly order, and its activities paralelled those of the Templars. Like them, it had its stations, or hospitals, in many lands of Europe, and its chief duty was to carry on the war against the Mohammedans of Palestine. When the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem came to an end, the headquarters of the order was moved to Cyprus, thence to Rhodes in 1309, and at last to Malta in 1521.[6] The order of Teutonic Knights was founded in 1189 by a number of German soldiers who had

The Templars

The Hospitallers

The Teutonic Knights

[6] The familiar Maltese cross was the insignia of the order.

gone to Palestine on the third crusade. Its rule was copied after that of the Hospitallers. Unlike the other military orders, it was not an international, but rather a purely German organization. After 1230 the activity of the order was chiefly that of fighting the Slavic tribes of Prussia. The knights carved out a little kingdom of their own along the shores of the Baltic Sea, and continued to rule it until the Reformation, after which it was attached to the Prussian territories of the house of Hohenzollern.

The rise of these military orders is one of the most significant events in medieval history. It shows how deeply the two great ideas of the time had struck their roots. The one idea was altogether worldly; it was the notion that the highest earthly occupation is the wielding of the sword. It was an inheritance from the distant past. For unnumbered generations the Germanic peoples had believed that the really great man was he who by his individual prowess could overthrow his enemies on the field of battle. The other was unworldly. It was the notion that by self-denial and by the doing of hard things in the name of Christ, a man could earn for himself the rewards of heaven. From this latter conviction came the great monastic revival; from the combination of the two came the crusades and the military orders. Templar and Hospitaller seemed to have found a way to do two things at once, to win at the same time the applause of men and the praise of heaven.

But while kings and princes, barons and knights were going on crusade, and while the common people were flocking by the tens of thousands into the new monasteries that were springing up everywhere, the

minds of men were beginning to awake to new activity. The coming of the Germans into the Roman Empire had been followed by a period of intellectual stagnation. Charles the Great had begun an educational revival. He had made it a law that the monasteries and the cathedrals should maintain schools for the education of the clergy, and had taken measures for the extension of education to the children of the nobles. Most of these schools lasted for too short a time to accomplish very great results, nevertheless Europe never fell back again to the level of ignorance from which Charles had rescued it. The century that followed his death saw a few brief controversies and discussions within the Church which showed that men were beginning to think seriously about the Church's doctrines.

The Beginnings of Scholasticism

After 1050 a new series of discussions began. The Investiture Controversy[1] produced a considerable literature, but the doctrinal disputes which then began were more significant. They started with a dispute between Berengar, head of the cathedral school at Tours, and Lanfranc of Bec, whom William the Conqueror afterwards made archbishop of Canterbury. It concerned the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and ended with the condemnation of Berengar, who was declared a heretic. Lanfranc prepared the way for Anselm (1033-1109), who was his pupil at Bec, and his successor in the see of Canterbury. He was an earnest churchman, a student of the Latin Fathers, whose great desire was to defend and explain the doctrines which the Church

Anselm

[1] See above, p. 121.

had long been teaching. His efforts to do this led him into paths that had been untrodden for five hundred years, and some of his teachings were altogether new.[8] But Anselm was not alone. During his life-time other men[9] were working, quite independently of him, upon the intellectual problems of Christianity, seeking to solve them by the aid of their scanty knowledge of the Greek philosophy. These men and their writings were a sign that a new age was dawning in the Church. The thought of Europe was beginning to awaken.

Peter Abelard (1079-1142) completed the awakening. As a stimulator of thought he has had few equals in all the history of education. His real name was Pierre de Palais, from the little town in Northern France where he was born in 1079. From early youth his mind was set on becoming a teacher. He studied under Roscellinus and William of Champeaux, and then set up as a private teacher of dialectics in Paris. Soon, however, he turned his attention to theology and shortly after 1113 he secured a post at the cathedral school in Paris. His love-affair with Heloise, the niece of a Parisian clergyman, brought him both notoriety and disgrace, from which he emerged as a monk, teaching in Paris to throngs of pupils. In 1141 he was condemned for heresy and sentenced to imprisonment in the monastery at Cluny, where he died in 1142. It was Heloise, then an abbess, who laid in his coffin the letter of absolution which the abbot of Cluny had granted

Abelard

[8] He was the author of the ontological argument for the existence of God and his doctrine of vicarious atonement has had a permanent influence on Christian thought.

[9] Roscellinus of Compiegne and William of Champeaux especially.

him before his death, and when she died, twenty-two years later, his grave was opened and her body laid with his. Abelard was the real founder of medieval theology. He was not a great thinker, and left behind him no system of his own, but he was the inventor of the method[10] by which other men worked for centuries. Among his cotemporaries Hugo of St. Victor (1097-1141) was the most distinguished, but it was Peter Lombard (1090-1160) who exerted the most lasting influence. His *Four Books of Sentences* is one of the great books in the history of theology. It attained unheard-of popularity and became the basis of the systems in which the men of the next two centuries summarized all their knowledge of God and world.

Bernard of Clairvaux

The great man of this period in the Church's history is Bernard of Clairvaux (1091-1153). He is the man who, in life and character, expresses more completely than any other the best that was in the spirit of the age. The son of a Burgundian knight, he was destined for the priesthood, but became a monk instead. When he entered the monastery at Citeaux[11] he took with him twelve companions, including his own uncle and four of his five brothers. When only twenty-four years old, he became the head of the new Cistercian house of Clairvaux. He never held another office, though before his death his influence in the Church was greater than that of any pope. He was

[10] The method is that of argumentation. A question is stated; then the reasons for answering it in the affirmative, followed by the reasons for answering it in the negative; after this comes the decision, the author's own answer. It was this method which led Abelard to give his chief theological word the title *Sic et Non*, "yes and no."

[11] See above, p. 132.

the saintliest of monks and the wisest of abbots, the real author of the Cistercian rule and of the rule of the Temple-knights. Yet even in his monastery the troubles of the world were always on his heart. He left it frequently to speak in the councils of popes and kings. He was the great preacher of his generation. It was his flaming eloquence that roused Europe to the second crusade. "In the towns where I have preached," he says, "scarcely one man is left to seven women." His religion was a mystical devotion to Christ his Saviour, showing itself in utter self-surrender and self-denial, but with it all, he was possessed of a deep and tender devotion to his fellow-men. He looked upon Abelard as an enemy of Christ, for the spirit of inquiry seemed to him to threaten the foundations of Christian faith, and he was Abelard's chief accuser at the synod which condemned him. Few men have ever had such power over the men of their own time as Bernard had, for there have been few who have been such perfect mirrors of the things that their time has admired and reverenced.

As we look back over the period that we have been describing, we are struck with the increasing signs of life that meet us everywhere we turn. A new life-impulse was surging in the European peoples. It poured itself eagerly into all the channels that were open to it—into the adventurous enterprise of the crusades; into the search for peace with God in the multitude of monasteries that dotted the hillsides and peopled the valleys of Germany and France and England; into the missionary efforts among the Scandinavian and Slavic peoples; into the movements for reform which sought to free the Church from secular

control by bringing it under papal rule; into the quest for a truth that would satisfy men's minds as the monastic life seemed to satisfy their hearts. It was the Church that opened all these channels and thus ruled the lives of men, and in the thirteenth century this new life-force lifted the Roman Church to the summit of its glory.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Church at the Height of Power (1198-1303)

In the thirteenth century Western Europe was more completely under church control than ever before or since. The Church was a ruling institution, governing men for the salvation of their souls and telling them what they must do to be saved. Its power was exercised over prince and peasant, ruler and subject. It was the institution which gave the peoples of Europe the only unity which they possessed. It moulded their thought of things human as well as things divine. It furnished them with their highest ideals and ruled their political as well as their social life. The center of this great institution was Rome and the popes of this century seemed to have attained that place of absolute supremacy over their own world for which they had long been striving.

The political unity of Europe was gone. In the days of Charles the Great the Empire, centering in France, had ruled from below the Pyrenees clear to the Baltic Sea and from the Atlantic to the lands of the Slavs. Now the Empire was little more than a name for Germany. France was a separate kingdom and its rulers were becoming greater monarchs than the emperors.

Political Disunity

The Normans had conquered England in 1066 and erected a kingdom that was growing rapidly in inward strength. The kings of Castile, Leon and Aragon were beginning to push the Moorish rulers of Spain

backward toward the Mediterranean. Italy was nominally a dependency of the Empire, but parts of it were ruled, and other parts were claimed by the popes, while the cities of the North—Venice, Genoa, Milan —were virtually independent states. All of these states lacked inner unity. Feudal institutions had broken them into fragments, and feudalism was only just beginning to decline before the growing power of the national State.

There was but one thing which the European peoples had in common, their Christian profession. Other religions than Christianity were forbidden to exist, and Christianity was represented by a single great institution which reached into all the lands from Norway to Italy and from Ireland to Hungary. It spoke to men with the authority of the Most High; it bestowed on them the grace of God, through which they could attain salvation, and it withheld that grace from those who refused obedience to its commands. Monasteries and houses of worship were more common, and often more splendid, than palaces of kings and barons. In one way or another the Church held not less than one-third of all the land in Europe. It was better organized than any kingdom. The pope was its head and was, in theory at least, the immediate source of its spiritual power. He exercised it through the bishops whom he confirmed, and the bishops worked through the priests and deacons whom they ordained. The laws of the Church were still made by synods, but these synods could not meet unless called by the pope and their acts were held invalid unless approved by him. From any decision of

Organization of the Church

a bishop or a synod an appeal could always be taken to the pope. For the government of this great institution there was a body of law. It was composed of decrees of popes and councils, reaching over many centuries, which had been brought together and harmonized in a great code, the Canon Law.[1]

The Church also had its authoritative doctrine. The scholastic theology, which had begun in the twelfth century, reached its full development in the thirteenth. The great scholastic doctors—men like Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), and Duns Scotus (1270-1308)—attempted to arrange all human knowledge of God and the world into great systems of truth. They got their data partly from the Scriptures, partly from the dogma of the Church, and partly from the Greek philosophers, especially from Aristotle. The Church's dogma had been temporarily completed by the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), and the writings of Aristotle had been recovered through the Moors, after they had perished from the memory of the Western peoples. The scholastics used his philosophy to form the framework of their theology, and derived what scientific knowledge they possessed chiefly from his works. The men who made these systems were professional teachers, lecturers in the universities which were beginning to arise in many lands.[2]

The Scholastic Theology

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[1] The first part of the Canon Law—the Decretum of Gratian—was published about 1141; it received subsequent additions in 1230, 1298 and 1317.

[2] Bologna, Paris and Oxford were among the earliest. Others were founded in considerable numbers during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The faculties of these universities were, almost without exception, churchmen, and the courses of instruction centered in theology, "the queen of the sciences."

The great teachers of the time were, almost all of them, members of one or another of the mendicant orders. These mendicants were monks, but monks of a new kind. They called themselves, not monks, but "friars," or "brethren." They were vowed to lives of celibacy, obedience, and, above all things, poverty. They aimed to get their living not from endowments or by manual labor, but from alms. The founders of this new monasticism were two men, utterly different in temperament and training, each of whom became the head of a new order. Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) was a mystic. He believed himself inspired by God to leave the life of luxury in which he had been reared, and go out as an apostle to win men from worldliness to the active imitation of the life of Christ. To be like Christ meant for him to be poor, without gold or silver or scrip or shoes or staff, and without two coats.[3] Thus Francis became a wandering beggar, though the alms he asked were never for himself, preaching wherever he could find an audience, and showing kindness to the outcast and the poor. His way of living made a powerful appeal to an age which thought that mere self-denial was perfection, and soon he drew a little group of followers around him. In 1209 he gave them their first rule and in the next year the order was licensed by the pope. Before the death of Francis its membership ran high into the thousands and it was located

The Mendicants

Francis of Assisi

[3] Matthew x, 7 ff.

in every land of Europe. Its members called themselves the "Little Brethren," or "Minorities." It had a female branch, the Clarissines, and an auxiliary organization, known as the "tertiaries," made up of men and women who did not leave the world or take the vows, but held a kind of associate membership in the order.

The founder of the second mendicant order was Dominic (1170-1221). He was a Spanish priest who chose, as his life-work, the conversion of the heretics of Southern France. To carry on this work, he gathered a little band of preachers, who took the vow of poverty and became in time the nucleus of another order, closely resembling that of St. Francis. The members of both these orders were immediately subject to the commands of their "general," who was himself sworn to obedience to the pope. Thus the mendicants became a kind of papal army, taking commands directly from Rome, and not from any bishops. Their value to the papacy in the succeeding centuries was immeasurably great. It appeared conspicuously in their dealings with heresy.

Dominic

Until the twelfth century heresy was little known in Western Europe. But with the general awakening of thought that came in the twelfth century, heresy, too, began to grow. Before the thirteenth century opened there were increasing numbers of men, especially in Italy and Southern France, to whom the name of heretic was given, and they were causing the church authorities considerable alarm. Among them it is customary to distinguish two main groups—the

Growth of Heresy

Cathari,[4] and the Waldensians. The one thing that these two groups had in common was that both were actively hostile to the organized Church and bitterly condemned and criticised it; in other respects they were quite unlike. The Cathari held doctrines that revived a heathen religion which had been an active competitor with Christianity in earlier days; they were really Manichæans. The Waldensians, on the other hand, were men who desired to reform the Church. Their name is derived from the alleged founder of the sect, Peter Waldo, or Valdez (d. c1217), a merchant of Lyons, who had become a religious fanatic. They believed that it was the duty of Christians to return to the simple teachings of the Bible, to imitate in their lives the virtues of Jesus and the apostles, and to abandon the complicated, and often corrupt, organization and the elaborate ritual of the Church. Their ideals were not essentially different from those of the Franciscans, except that they were critics of the Church.

Throughout the later twelfth century both of these groups were making converts rapidly, despite the efforts that were made to check them, and in the thirteenth century the popes resolved that they must be exterminated by persecution. In 1209 Pope Innocent III succeeded in getting the king of France to move against the heretics in his realm. A crusade was launched against them and the princes who tolerated them. For twenty years these crusades were continued with the result that, in the end, the princes

The Albigensian Crusades

[4] Sometimes known as the Albigensians, from the town of Albi in Piedmont, which was one of their strongholds.

of Southern France withdrew their protection and left the heretics to the tender mercies of the Inquisition. In these crusades thousands of people, men, women and children, lost their lives, many of whom were altogether innocent of heresy. There is no darker blot upon the history of the Church than the Albigensian crusades, unless it be the Inquisition.

The Inquisition was the product of two ideas commonly accepted in this age. One of them was that submission to church authority is necessary to salvation; the other was that the State must assist the Church to secure acceptance of its doctrines and obedience to its decrees. About 1213 the popes began to demand that kings should make heresy a capital offence. With only one important exception, the kings agreed, and by 1240 heresy was punishable by death in every land in Europe except England.[5] With this accomplished, the popes began to create machinery by which heretics could be discovered and handed over to the State for punishment. The Inquisition became a specialized department of church administration. Its work was done by trained experts drawn from one or the other of the great mendicant orders. The proceedings were usually secret and the accused had no rights which the inquisitors were bound to respect. His accusers were his judges, and their object was to find him guilty. The penalty, which was inflicted by the secular authorities, was not always death; it might be exile, imprisonment, or confiscation of property; but the numbers of those who were put to death at the command of the Inquisition was appallingly large.

The Inquisition

[5] It was made a capital offence in England in 1401.

Throughout this time the church organization was working with one single purpose always before it. It was seeking to rule the souls of men, unmindful of the fact that souls can be ruled only from within. The Church sought to rule them from without. It contended for the mastery with kings and princes, using spiritual weapons as a means to temporal power, and claiming that the temporal power was necessary to secure the spiritual welfare of Christians.

The great pope of the thirteenth century was Innocent III (1198-1216). He stood completely for the theory of unlimited papal power. He believed that the pope, as the earthly representative of Christ, was rightful ruler of the world, and that royal titles were valid only insofar as he approved them. As he performed his spiritual functions through his bishops, so he performed his temporal functions through his kings. It was his fortune to live in a time when his convictions could be practically applied. In his first year he became the guardian of the infant Frederick II, heir to the kingdom of Sicily. When the boy-king, still the pope's ward, became emperor of Germany, in 1213, it seemed as though the long struggle between emperors and popes had ended with a papal victory. In that same year he forced the king of France to take back a wife whom he had put away without the pope's consent, and compelled King John of England to give his whole realm to the papacy and pay tribute to the pope for his own crown. In less conspicuous, but equally effective fashion he had already interfered in the affairs of Leon and Aragon, Portugal and Denmark, Poland, Bohemia and Hungary. In 1204 he had

Pope Innocent III

seen the Greek emperor driven out of Constantinople and a Roman archbishop replace the Greek patriarch in that church. His whole time upon the papal chair was a continual triumph, rounded out in 1215 by the meeting of the Fourth Lateran Council, which gave the Church its dogma of the seven sacraments. Never had the papacy had such splendor and dignity in the eyes of men.

The edifice of papal power and glory which Innocent had brought to its completion continued to exist throughout the rest of the century, but his successors had to struggle to maintain it. Under the first of them the conflict with the Empire broke out anew. This time it was Frederick II (1215-50), once the ward of Innocent III, who was the object of attack. The struggle lasted for a generation, but ended, after Frederick's death, in a victory for the papacy. A French kingdom was erected in Southern Italy, and Germany lapsed into virtual anarchy. This was the popes' work. For the next fifty years they seemed to be holding their own. There was no apparent lessening of papal authority, but in the inner life of Europe new forces were at work that were, in the end, to work epochal changes in the world. Within the framework of the loosely jointed feudal kingdoms the national States were beginning to arise. The kings were growing stronger and the barons weaker. Commerce was taking enormous forward strides and industry was increasing the population of the cities, as trade increased their wealth. The towns were becoming a factor in government and the nobles had to reckon with them. Amid these changes, and as one

Changes in Europe

of their results, the peoples of Europe were coming to have a sense of unity, such as they had never had before. They were becoming nations, with national pride and national resentments and national ambitions. In this movement, as in most other things, France was for the time the leader, and at the opening of the fourteenth century the papacy received from France its first serious defeat.

Boniface VIII

Boniface VIII (1294-1303) was on the papal chair. He was eighty years old when he became pope. He had the pride of a Roman noble, the learning of a scholar, the will of a dictator, and the inflexibility of old age. He held the same views of papal power for which Innocent III had stood so brilliantly, and he attempted to enforce them upon Philip IV of France. It began in 1296, when the pope issued a general decree, forbidding temporal rulers to tax the clergy of their realms without the pope's consent. Philip was already levying taxes on the clergy of France, and answered the pope's bull with a law prohibiting the export of money from his kingdom. Boniface then modified his decree, admitting the taxing could be done "in cases of necessity." Five years later the king accused a papal legate of high-treason and cast him into prison. The pope's reply was to summon all the higher clergy of France to Rome, to deliberate concerning the condition of the French Church. Philip was cited to appear before this synod. It was the pope's intention to show the French king who was master. But the king laid the summons before the Estates of France, and they decided that no Frenchman should obey it. Then the pope published a bull—the *Unam Sanctam*

(1303)—in which he defined his views of papal power. It declared that all temporal governments are subject to the spiritual government, which is lodged at Rome, and that the pope has the right to judge all kings and princes, concluding with the words, "We declare that for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pope is altogether necessary to salvation." This bull was to be preliminary to excommunication of the king, and that was to drive him from his throne. But before the excommunication was pronounced, soldiers in Philip's pay broke into the papal palace at Agnani and made the pope a prisoner. A month later Boniface died, a broken and humiliated man, and Philip IV took control of the papacy, transporting it bodily to France. The national State had dealt the papal supremacy a blow from which it never recovered, though the papal claims were undiminished.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Church and the European States (1303-1449)

After the death of Boniface VIII the papacy entered upon its so-called Babylonian Captivity. For seventy-five years the papacy was ruled by the kings of France. Seven successive popes were Frenchmen and they made their home, not at Rome, but at Avignon, which became the papal residence in 1305. Their claims to world-dominion were not lessened. They still spoke to kings, as well as to bishops, in the familiar tones of complete authority. But Europe recognized that things were not the same. England and France were soon at war, and England was in no mood to receive commands that issued from France. Germany began to emerge from its chaos, and the efforts of the popes to control the politics of that divided people were without success. Italy was falling into anarchy, yet most of Italy was claimed as papal land. National rivalries were springing up everywhere and to those rivalries the papacy was a party.

The Babylonian Captivity, 1303-1378

Beginning about 1313 voices were heard in many places declaring that the popes had gone too far in their claims of power, while other voices began to cry aloud that the whole organization of the Church was rotten and must be reformed. The poet Dante attacked the popes because they had destroyed the Empire; Petrarch spoke of Avignon as "a sink of

iniquity, a temple of lies and a hell on earth"; William of Occam, the most influential theologian of his day, accused the popes of greed, of heresy and of abuse of power; two professors at the University of Paris, Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun, wrote a book to prove that the whole theory of papal authority was based on fictions, that rights of rulership were derived from the people, and that the Church was only the religious department of the State. The papacy had its defenders, to be sure, but the fact that such accusations were being made is evidence enough that the period of papal glory was at an end.

In 1377 Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome, and died there the next year. The cardinals chose a Roman to succeed him, but a few months later held a new election, and chose another Frenchman, declaring that their first choice had not been free. Until 1409 there were two claimants to the papal chair, one at Rome, the other at Avignon. Each of them had his supporters, and they divided chiefly along national lines. The claimant that France acknowledged had no support in England; the pope that England supported was rejected by Scotland. So long as each could command the allegiance of some one or more of the European nations, the schism could not be ended. In 1409 it was decided to try to settle it by a general council of the Church, called by the cardinals. The council met at Pisa, deposed both the claimants, and elected a new pope. But the decrees of Pisa were not accepted universally, and its sole result was that there were now three claimants in place of

The Great Schism—1378-1418

The Council in Pisa

two, each of them declaring himself the real successor of St. Peter and vicar of Christ on earth, each of them excommunicating both of the others, with his aiders and abettors, and with all who rendered him obedience.

The man who finally ended the schism was Sigismund, the German emperor. He persuaded one of the three popes to call a new council, to meet at Constance in 1414. Then he persuaded one and another of the kings to promise that his nation should be represented there. The result was a gathering of churchmen and statesmen such as Western Europe had never known, the most brilliant assemblage that had ever come together west of Constantinople. The council had much business to transact, and its work was accomplished very slowly. It was not until 1418 that the last of the three claimants to the papacy was out of the way, and he was put out only after Sigismund's diplomacy had won away from him the support of the Spanish kings. The cardinals and a committee of the council then proceeded to elect a new pope (Martin V, 1418-31), who was universally acknowledged.

The Council of Constance—1414-18

In thus deposing popes, the Council of Constance struck a heavy blow at papal authority. Boniface VIII had declared that if a pope went astray, he could be corrected only by God, that there was no power on earth that could put him under discipline. Yet the Council of Constance had done that very thing; an assemblage of bishops and abbots had deposed three popes at once, and the council had formally declared itself above the pope. If there was a power above the

pope, what was to become of the structure of authority which the papacy had so long been rearing? The council could assume this right only because it had the backing of the European states. The voice of the secular rulers was as influential in the council as that of the theologians, and the vote of the members was taken not by heads, but by nations, each of the nations casting a single vote. It was clear, after Constance, that the papacy must reckon with the kings of Europe, if it desired to resume its rulership within the Church.

That reckoning was begun as soon as the new pope was elected. Martin V inaugurated a new epoch in papal politics. He began to deal separately with the heads of the national governments. He entered into agreements with them—known as concordats—in which he granted to each of them some measure of control over the Church in his own realm. In this way he purchased their support, striking a separate bargain with each. By following this policy, Martin V and his successors were recognized again as heads of the Church, but this recognition did not alter the fact that the papacy was not what it had been before. The Church was no longer a supernational institution under a head who was the superior of all kings, but a federation of national churches, each of which was ruled in some degree by its own temporal government.

The Concordats

The Council of Constance had other things to occupy its attention beside the schism. One of them was heresy. When the council met, Bohemia was a hotbed of revolt against the doctrines, as well as the administration, of the papal Church. The movement of revolt had come across from England, from the Uni-

versity of Oxford to the University of Prag. It had its beginning with John Wyclyf. He was a teacher of philosophy and theology at Oxford, of whose early life little or nothing is known. He first comes into the clear light of history in 1374. At that time he was already a man of some distinction in his university. In 1377 he was tried for heresy, but the trial came to nothing. Five years later a synod in London condemned forty-five statements, taken from his writings, after which he retired from the university and lived quietly in a rural parish until his death in 1384. The papal Church had every reason to suppress his teachings. He attacked both its life and its doctrine. At a time when the Church was enormously wealthy, he declared that the ideal Christian life was one of poverty, and that the best way to reform the Church was to take away its wealth. When the Church was claiming infallible authority for decrees of popes and councils, he insisted that the Scriptures were the only source of truth. While two claimants to the papacy were contending for recognition as the successor of St. Peter he declared that neither should be recognized, for neither of them could be the representative of anyone but Antichrist. He denied that the bread and wine of the Eucharist were changed into the body and blood of Christ; he repudiated the worship of saints and taught that pilgrimages were valueless, auricular confession unnecessary, indulgences harmful and purgatory doubtful. These doctrines were spread by Wyclyf's "poor priests," men who shared his views of reform and went about among the people instructing them in the simple truths of the Bible. To make their

John Wyclyf

work easier, Wyclyf and two of his associates—Nicholas Herford and Richard Purvey—translated the Scriptures from Latin into English. It was the first complete version of the Bible in the English language.

Wyclyf won many followers. He had powerful friends among the nobles, who were quite ready to reform the Church by confiscating its property to themselves. But most of them were drawn from the poorer classes, who saw in the Church, as it was then administered, an instrument of oppression, taxing them to the last farthing, and giving them nothing in return. Nevertheless, Wyclyfism did not produce great reforms in England. In 1401 heresy was made a capital offence, chiefly that the government might deal sharply with the Lollards, as Wyclyf's followers were called. The mere possession of Wyclyf's writings was punishable with death. Thus Wyclyfism was suppressed, though it was not utterly extinguished, for in spite of persecution, parts of his writings continued in secret circulation down to the Reformation.

The place where Wyclyf's work bore the richest fruit was Bohemia, the land of the Czechs. In the fourteenth century the people of that little land became a real nation. It was a people of Slavic race that had been ruled for centuries by Germans and formed a part of the German Empire.

Bohemia

In 1347 Charles IV became emperor, but before that time he had been king of Bohemia and Bohemia was always the center of his power. His policy was to strengthen the national spirit. During his reign the Bohemian Church was given its own separate organization, under an archbishop of Prag;

a university was established at Prag, which became the center of the nation's intellectual life, and political reforms were instituted which aimed to strengthen the Czechs against their German rulers. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Bohemian nation rebelled against the papal Church.

The leader of this rebellion was John Hus. Like Wyclyf, he was a teacher of philosophy and theology, but unlike him, he was also a preacher. He learned to know Wyclyf's writings, probably through Bohemian students who had been at Oxford, and adopted Wyclyf's views as his own. His most important literary work was borrowed directly from the English reformer. While teaching in the university, Hus was preaching regularly in the Bethlehem Chapel, the most influential pulpit in Prag. From the pulpit he attacked the abuses in the life of the Church—indulgences, pilgrimages, the morals of the clergy and the administration of the Church. He declared that the pope was the successor of Judas Iscariot. Thus his opinions were spread far and wide among the people. At the same time he became the head, after 1409, of the Bohemian national party in the university. His position as a Bohemian patriot added to the popularity of the reforms for which he was contending. The archbishop of Prag excommunicated him in 1410, but King Wenzel, responding to the popular demand, compelled the archbishop to lift the ban. The next year he was put under excommunication by the pope. This time he withdrew from public life and lived in retirement until the meeting of the Council of Constance.

John Hus

The Hussite movement was one that the leaders

of the Church had just cause to fear. A whole nation had enlisted in the cause of church reform. The reformer was a national hero and attempts to suppress him were regarded as a national affront. Yet he was teaching doctrines which, if generally accepted, would have overthrown the whole organization of the Church and revolutionized its doctrinal system. The situation was grave enough to demand the attention of a general council.

The Council of Constance condemned John Hus as a dangerous heretic and ordered him burned at the stake. He had been summoned to Constance, and had expected that he would be permitted to plead his cause before the council, but no such hearing was granted him; he was ordered to recant, and this he refused to do. Sigismund had given him a safe-conduct, but the belief that a heretic had no legal rights was strong enough to make him break his word and order the execution. On July 6, 1414, Hus was burned at the stake, and on May 30, 1415, his disciple, Jerome of Prag, met the same fate. The fathers of Constance rejoiced in a good work well done. The Bohemian nation saw it in another light. The martyrdom of their national hero was the beginning of civil war. To repress the Hussites and bring them into subjection, Sigismund called in the aid of other princes, and the pope declared the war against them a crusade. Five such crusades failed to subdue Bohemia, but in 1433 the moderate Hussites came to terms with the papal church. In 1434 the Bohemians acknowledged Sigismund as their ruler, and Bohemia returned to the fold of Rome. There remained, however, an irrecon-

The Hussite Wars

cilable party, which continued to exist until the Reformation and after, under the name of the Bohemian Brethren.[1]

The Wyclyfite and Hussite movements were attempts to reform the Church. Their strength lay in the fact that the Church was desperately in need of reformation. That fact no one denied. The slogan of the party that brought the Council of Constance into existence had been "Reform in head and members," and the settlement of the schism and the suppression of Hus were regarded by the council only as steps in that reform. The Church was secularized. It had been corrupted by the world which it was set to save. Popes were competitors of kings and bishops of princes. Religion had become institutionalized and overlaid with worldliness. But the Council of Constance did not reform the Church. It discussed many proposals for reform, but it had no program and made none. The very men who sat in the council were themselves in need of reformation. In the end they decided to postpone the work until a more convenient season. They passed a decree providing that councils should meet frequently in the future, turned over the immediate prosecution of reforms to the pope, and adjourned (1418).

Need for Reform

In 1431 a new reforming council met at Basel. It continued to exist, in theory at least, till 1449, though after 1438 it was without papal sanction. The whole time of its existence was, in fact, one long period of

[1] The Moravian Church claims descent from this sect, as does also the recently organized Evangelical Church of Bohemia.

struggle between the council and the pope. The question between them was, Where does the real authority in the Church reside, in the papacy or in a council? The council insisted that the supreme power in the Church was vested in itself; the pope stood upon his traditional right to be the absolute ruler of all things in the Church. It was the rulers of the European nations who finally decided the question. So long as the council had their support it could hold its own against the pope, but when that support was withdrawn, it became only an assembly of would-be reformers, passing decrees that could not be enforced. It continued to hold together even after the pope decreed its dissolution, and even went so far as to renounce Eugenius IV and elect a pope of its own, but one by one the kings deserted the council, and when the German Emperor came to agreement with the Roman pope, in 1448, it went out of existence altogether. The history of this council offered another proof that the Church had become a federation of national churches. The only hope for a general reformation lay in a common agreement of the national governments to effect reform, but such an agreement was impossible. When a real reformation came, it was to rise within the national churches and reform them one by one. This broke the church organization into fragments, but the lines of cleavage were those along which Europe was already divided, for they were the lines between the nations.

The Council of Basel—1431-49

While the Council of Basel was still in session, defying the pope's command to dissolve, Eugenius IV called another council to meet in Ferrara, transferring

it afterwards to Florence. The special purpose of this council was to effect a union with the Greek Church. The Greeks were ready to make almost any concessions which the Latins would demand, for the Eastern Empire was in desperate straits. The pressure from the Turks was becoming stronger. They were beginning the movement which made them masters of Constantinople after 1453, and which carried them westward as far as Vienna in the early sixteenth century. The Greeks cared little for the Western Church, but their only hope of preservation from the Turks was in the aid of western armies, and to gain that aid it was necessary that they be reconciled with the pope. To Florence they sent a delegation seven hundred strong, headed by the emperor and the patriarch of Constantinople in person. An agreement was reached in 1439 which placed the pope at the head of all Christendom and granted the patriarch the second place in a united Church. But the agreement was only on paper. The western princes were busy with their own affairs and did not send the armies that had been expected. The Easterners angrily repudiated the terms which their representatives had made, and the first Eastern council that was held after 1439 revoked the Union. Nevertheless the agreement with the Greeks was a triumph for the papacy. It brought the pope new glory in the eyes of men, and it came at the very time when the Council of Basel was seeking to destroy the foundations of papal power.

The Council of Florence

The reforming councils failed. Their one permanent achievement was the rescue of the papacy from

the disorder that the great schism had brought. They endeavored to set up an authority that would be higher than the popes, but the papacy that they had rescued entered into alliance with the political rulers and defeated the councils' purpose. In 1459 the papal prestige had been so far restored that Pius II, in the bull *Execrabilis*, could declare that any person appealing from the pope to a future council should incur an excommunication from which the pope alone would have power to release him.

CHAPTER XV.

The Church in the Age of the Renaissance (1450-1517)

The rise of the nations was only one of the many changes which came over Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It was a part of a general transformation of European life, which affected every field of human thought and endeavor. This transformation is the Renaissance, the "rebirth." It was the last step in the long process by which the Germanic peoples who overthrew the Roman Empire advanced from barbarism to a civilization as rich and varied as that which Greece and Rome had had. But it was more than that, for in the Renaissance were laid the foundations of the modern world. It was a general awakening of the human spirit to the greatness of the world in which man lives. Men began to see this world with new eyes and search it with new motives. Limitations which had seemed invincible were broken down, and men gained new ideas of what man is, what man can do, and what man can become.

The Renaissance

In the largest sense, therefore, the Renaissance was a movement of discovery. The men of the Middle Ages lived in a narrow world. They had relatively few objects of knowledge, and these were near at hand. For their knowledge of more distant things, for their glimpses of the far horizon, they depended on the teaching of the Church. In the twelfth century their

objects of knowledge began to increase in number, in the thirteenth and fourteenth and fifteenth they were multiplied.

The geographical discoveries were a part of the new awakening. They may be said to have begun with the Crusades and continued till the circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan, in 1521. They enlarged men's notions of the physical world and changed them completely. At the same time they opened new avenues of action. They provided the trader with new markets, and stimulated commerce. Men began to see new opportunities for gaining wealth, and the effort to use them quickened the industrial life of Europe and caused a rapid growth in the population of the cities. Soon the cities were no longer content to be at the mercy of the feudal barons. They began to claim political rights of their own. This was a breach in the system of feudal government, which made political rights dependent on the possession of land. The kings were quick to see the value of the cities in their continual struggle against the barons and used them to offset the barons' power. The same events led to the gradual rise of the money-power. The economic system of the Middle Ages was based on agriculture; now a new system began to arise within the old, a system which substituted the exchange of money for the exchange of commodities. This was the beginning of capitalism. The men who controlled the money of the world began to have a larger importance for society than the men who directed its armies. The nations, too, began to enter into competition for the extension of their realms,

The Growing World

and Europe passed into a period of almost incessant national wars. All of these developments focused upon the second half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century.

Meanwhile the minds of men were slowly breaking down barriers which had lain around their thought, discovering new realms of the mind, as rich and wonderful as the new lands which the explorers entered. They began to recover literatures that had been buried in forgetfulness, the literature of ancient Rome and the literature of Greece. To know these literatures was to enter again into the thought of the ancient world and to form acquaintance with long-forgotten arts. There were many in whom the desire to know this past became a passion. Knowledge, in turn, called out the desire to do the same things that the ancients had done. The fifteenth century became creative of its own art, much of it slavish imitation, but much of it original. Literature, and especially poetry, architecture, sculpture and painting had a new birth. But even in an artistic age not all men are artists. There were some whom the desire for knowledge led to the closer observation of the world around them, and these men became the founders of modern science.

The Literary and Artistic Renaissance

Among the new discoveries of the fifteenth century none was more revolutionary in its effect upon human thought and life than that of the art of printing from movable metal types. The credit for this discovery belongs to John Gutenberg, of Mayence. The first book that came from his press was a Bible, printed about 1453,

The Art of Printing

but the use of the art spread with tremendous rapidity. By 1500 there was not an important city in Europe which had not its own press. The world was provided with a means for the diffusion of ideas such as it had never had before. The thought of other men became accessible to all who could master the simple process of reading.

In all these ways, the Renaissance produced a new civilization. But the culture of the Renaissance was secular. For centuries the Church had dominated the life of Europe, now there were large departments of thought and life which the Church could not govern. Society, especially in its higher strata, began to break away from church control. For the ideals of the Renaissance were pagan rather than Christian. Certainly they were not Christian in the sense in which the Church understood the term. The men in whom the spirit of the Renaissance was living sought for self-expression, the rounding out of life through the cultivation of all its powers and the use of all that the world can offer; the Church was still teaching, as it had been teaching for centuries, that the highest life is one of self-repression, and that to abstain from the use of this world is in itself a virtue that will be rewarded in another. The Renaissance gave new values to the life that now is; the Church was teaching that this life must be despised for the sake of that which is to come. The very completeness with which the Church had impressed its ideals upon the Middle Ages strengthened the paganism, the joy of living, the devotion to things of sense, that was in the Renaissance.

The Culture of the Renaissance

It was inevitable that such a movement should have far-reaching effects upon the Church. One of them was to bring the popes new glory. In the middle of the fifteenth century the spirit of the Renaissance took full possession of the papacy. No spiritual institution ever became more wholly an institution of this world than did the papacy between 1450 and 1520. The men who sat upon St. Peter's chair during those seventy years had three ambitions—to increase the temporal power of Rome and hold their own with the Italian princes of their day; to make Rome the center of the world's culture, the focal point of the literary and artistic Renaissance; to maintain their place at the head of the spiritual government that ruled men's souls and fixed their eternal destiny.

The Renaissance and the Papacy

The temporal government of the popes in Italy was of long standing. For centuries they had had their own papal State, and its possession had been a constant cause of friction with the emperors.[1] Now they had to defend their State against three enemies. The first was the Italian city-states. Venice, Florence, Milan—to mention only the greatest of them—were independent States. Under different forms of government, they were seeking by war and intrigue to increase their lands at the expense of other Italian principalities. Their ambitions were not halted by the knowledge that some of the territories which they coveted were claimed by the vicar of Christ. The second enemy was the French power, settled in

The Papacy and Italy

[1] See above, Chapter XI.

Southern Italy and eager to expand. The third was Spain, consolidated under Ferdinand and Isabella, and claiming the rights in Italy which the French possessed. The struggle of the papacy to maintain its political supremacy against these rivals lasted for generations. Before it ended, the king of Spain became German emperor, and the competition between the king of France and the Spanish-German ruler for leadership in Europe came to focus upon Italy. In their effort to hold, and to extend, their temporal dominion the popes acted as the princes of the day were accustomed to act. They plotted and intrigued and fought and lied, according to the fashion of the time.

It was quite in keeping with their temporal pretensions that the popes should become patrons of art and letters. They were ambitious to possess a brilliant court. Artists and scholars, poets and sculptors were to provide that brilliancy. Nicholas V (1447-55) began it. He was the founder of the great Vatican Library, and spent great sums of money on manuscripts to be preserved there. Under the guise of papal secretaries, he supported an army of poets, copyists and scholars. It was he, too, who undertook the rebuilding of the ruined city. In this work he enlisted the services of the foremost architects of Europe. The policy which he inaugurated was followed by his successors. Some of them, like Alexander VI (1492-1503) and Innocent VIII (1484-92), were more interested in politics than in art or literature, but the rest divided their interests rather evenly between the two fields of ambition. Under Julius II (1503-13)

Secularization of the Papacy

and Leo X (1513-21), Rome was the acknowledged literary and artistic capital of the world, and the work which Michelangelo and Raphael did for these two popes ranks with the greatest in the history of their arts.

The means with which to support their secular distinctions came to the popes from their official position as the heads of the Church. They were the "vicars of Christ on earth," and all the power of God for man's salvation was declared to be in their hands. They had the keys of the kingdom of heaven, to bind and loose, to pardon and condemn, as they saw fit. In the hands of men who were saturated with the ideals of the Renaissance, this awful power was prostituted to personal and official ambition. They excommunicated those who opposed their political plans and their own wars were always "crusades." They used their spiritual functions to provide them with the wealth they needed to support their temporal pretensions. Every device that could add to the papal revenues was held legitimate. Church positions and appointments were bought and sold; permissions to violate church laws were granted for money, under the name of "dispensations"; indulgences were hawked about Europe; taxes were laid whenever an excuse presented itself or could be devised; in more than one country the drain upon the gold-supply caused by the constant flow of money into the Roman coffers was looked upon with apprehension. The wealth thus gained was used to support the most luxurious court in Christendom. Vast sums were spent on public buildings of every sort and on sumptuous palaces in which to house the men of the Church. The papal

courtiers enjoyed the income of parishes in foreign lands which they had never seen, sometimes one man would have a dozen such. The lives of papal officials, and often of the popes themselves, were scandalous and vile. The papal court was "entirely emancipated from morality."

This condition could not exist at Rome without affecting the whole Church. It was most acute at the papal residence, but in a less conspicuous way the spirit of the Renaissance was the spirit of the whole Church. It was secularized in the extreme; its office-bearers were living for worldly ends and using their spiritual offices to secure them; immorality among the clergy was a condition so widespread that it was taken for granted; monasteries and nunneries were all too often homes of lust. Naturally, among the many thousands of priests and monks, there were great numbers of beautiful exceptions, but the condition was general. Never was a reformation of the Church "in head and members" more sorely needed than when the Renaissance was at its height.

The demand for such a reformation had not ceased. The unfulfilled promises of the Council of Constance had not been forgotten. There was criticism everywhere. It came in part from the men of the Renaissance themselves, who took but lightly the claims of Church to spiritual authority and openly decried them. It came from the more serious churchmen, who realized the awful chasm between the Church's claims and its performance. It came from the laity, who felt the misuse of the Church's spiritual powers. Here and there attempts were made to secure reforms, but they

Demand for Reformation

made little impression on the Church as a whole. The most spectacular of these attempts was that of Jerome Savonarola. He was a Dominican friar who, in 1491, became the great preacher of Florence and was for five years its virtual ruler.

Savonarola

He proclaimed a message which he declared had come to him by inspiration and he spoke in the tone of some Old Testament prophet announcing the judgment of God upon Jerusalem. He denounced the corruption of the Church and prophesied that it would soon be punished by a visitation of God's anger. For a little while he made Florence the seat of a moral revolution against worldliness, but in the end he was suppressed. In 1498 he was condemned as a heretic and put to death.

Meanwhile, beneath the surface of the Church's life, untouched by the spots and wrinkles that defiled it, uncorrupted by its worldliness, there was flowing still a pure stream of devotion to Christ and to the things He lived for. Deep in the hearts of thousands was an earnest longing for peace with God, and thousands were finding that peace, even within a corrupt Church. The time when the Church was rotten with worldliness was the very time (1471) when Thomas a Kempis wrote his *Imitation of Christ*, one of the tenderest and sweetest books of devotion that Christian literature possesses. Its author was a member of the Brethren of the Common Life, a society of teachers which had its chief center in Holland. A similar society in the Rhinelands was known as the Friends of God. The religion which these men lived for was not the official religion of the Church, though it existed within it, nor

The Mystics

was it anything new in Christianity. It was essentially the same as that which made Francis of Assisi the sweetest character of the Middle Ages. It had already produced a whole literature. Eckhart (d. 1327), Tauler (d. 1361) and the anonymous author of the *German Theology* were all men of this same type. They were mystics. They cared little for the outward organization of the Church, though they used its rites and did not separate themselves from it, but they made much of the inner experience of God and Christ which they found in their own souls. In that inner world where thought and feeling blend into an immediate consciousness of God, they sought refuge from the brutality and the baseness of life as it was lived even by the men of the Church. The mystics were doing more to keep the Gospel a real force in the world than were the popes.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Eve of the Reformation

When the sixteenth century opened there were in Europe four great Christian powers—England, France, Spain and the Empire—and one Mohammedan power, settled since 1453 in Constantinople. Of the Christian powers England was outwardly the least imposing. It was a small, compact kingdom, with no continental holdings.[1] Its government was an absolute monarchy under parliamentary forms. A series of civil wars—the Wars of the Roses—had ended in 1485 with the accession of Henry Tudor (Henry VII, 1485-1509). He had known how to win the townsmen to his support, and for three generations the commons were the main prop of the throne. The power of the Tudors lay in the prosperity of the commercial and industrial classes. Henry VIII (1509-47) was a strong, self-willed, imperious ruler, who brooked no interference with his control over Church or State. His marriage with Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, gave him important continental connections, but he never exercised any commanding influence upon the general affairs of Europe.

The European Powers: England

France, too was a powerful monarchy. It had been

[1] Of its former French possessions, England still held only the town of Calais. Scotland was not yet under the English crown.

the first country in Europe to produce a strongly organized national State. During the Hundred Years War with England (1337-1453) the power of the crown was temporarily shattered, but in the middle of the fifteenth century a restoration had begun, and the opening sixteenth century saw a strong royal government in France supported, like that of England, by the commons, the prosperous commercial classes of the towns. Francis I (1515-47) was a fickle, inconstant, pleasure-loving king, with great ambitions but little steadiness of purpose. His one consistent aim was to surpass Spain in the competition for land and power. Their rivalry centered upon Italy, where both had claims. The Church in France was under the king's control. The Concordat of Bologna of 1516 was an agreement between the pope and the king which made the latter the virtual head of the church organization in his dominions.

France

Spain was just rising to its period of glory. The marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile was followed by the driving out of the Moors in 1492 and the conquest of Navarre in 1513. When Ferdinand died, in 1515, their grandson, Charles, inherited the whole peninsula except Portugal, which remained an independent kingdom. The discovery of America (1492), the conquest of Mexico (1518) and of Peru (1532) not only added new lands to the Spanish crown, but multiplied its wealth. Meanwhile the Portuguese sailors had been pushing their voyages southward, along the coast of Africa, and in 1498 Vasco da Gama had found his way around the Cape of Good Hope to

Spain

India, giving Portugal a practical monopoly of the spice-trade, the most lucrative commercial enterprise of the age.

The Empire was nominally ruled by Maximilian (1493-1519). He was head of the Austrian house of Hapsburg. For fifty-three years his father, Frederick III (1440-93), had worn the imperial crown.

The Empire

In 1477 Maximilian had married Mary of Burgundy, sole heiress to the lands of Charles the Bold, whose territories had included the whole of modern Holland and Belgium and some French and German lands beside. These lands Maximilian ruled in his wife's name. In 1496 he negotiated a marriage for his son and daughter with the daughter and the son of Ferdinand and Isabella. The son, Philip, died in 1506, leaving five children, two of whom were sons, Charles and Ferdinand. When Maximilian died in 1519 he left to his grandsons a vast dominion. It contained Austria, the Tyrol, Styria, Carinthia, a part of Swabia, Holland, Brabant, Flanders and the rest of the Burgundian lands. From Ferdinand and Isabella they received Aragon and Castile and an hereditary claim upon the crown of Naples and Sicily. Not content with that, Maximilian had already arranged a marriage for Ferdinand with Anne of Bohemia, heiress to the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary, and had made it fairly certain that Charles would be elected his own successor in the Empire. Not since the days of the greatest of the Cæsars had any such inheritance been passed from one generation to another.

The fifth great European power was the Turk. The capture of Constantinople in 1453 was only an epi-

sode in their career of conquest. Their eyes were fixed on Western Europe. Two lines of attack were open to them. They might strike through the Balkan peninsula, or use their naval power to win them mastery of the Mediterranean coast. They chose, for the moment, the former course. Before the end of the fifteenth century they had conquered Serbia, Roumania, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Greece, Illyria and the Morea. Turkey in Europe was an established fact. Further advances were prevented for a time by internal difficulties in Asia and in Egypt, but in 1522 the Turks began to move westward again. Between 1526 and 1529 they destroyed the kingdom of Hungary and in the latter year a Turkish army laid siege to Vienna. Meanwhile their navy was harassing the northern coasts of the Mediterranean. The siege of Vienna was the high-water mark of the Turkish advance into Europe, but for the greater part of the sixteenth century the Turkish power was a constant menace, a thunder-cloud on the horizon of the Western peoples.

The Turks

It was amid such political conditions that the Reformation came into being. International rivalries were keener than ever before. International relations were strained to the breaking-point, even when they were not entirely dissolved in war. The changes in the map of Europe which the last four centuries have made have been largely due to the attempt, not yet fully successful, to settle the international problems which the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries produced. These international questions strongly influenced the course of Reformation history, for in all of them the Church was deeply involved. It was the one inter-

national power in Europe. The pope, as its head, still claimed his traditional right to speak to the rulers with the voice of God. The political situation in Italy was one in which the popes had a vital political interest, and the rivalry of France and Spain focused upon that land. The Church was concerned, too, with the internal conditions of the nations, but of these we shall have to speak later.

The Religion of the Common Man

In all the nations there was a common religious belief. The common man looked to the Church for his salvation. He was taught that to win salvation he must be "a believer," and to be a believer, he must accept as true what the Church taught him. That was faith. But though he accepted this teaching, he placed upon it an interpretation of his own, and his interpretation was colored by ideas that had come down to him out of that forgotten time when his ancestors were heathen. His views of religion were saturated with heathen notions, many of which had crept into the preaching of the Church, some of them into its official theology.

Fear

The chief motive of his religious life was fear—fear of God's awful Judgment Day, fear of hell with its endless and excruciating torments, fear of purgatory which differed from hell only in the fact that it was of less duration. From this universal fear there was no deliverance except through the ministrations of the Church. But underlying it all was a fundamental belief in the existence of evil spirits, an invisible kingdom of evil under the rule of Satan. These spirits dogged his footsteps from the cradle to the grave, seeking always

to entice him into some sin that would give them a claim upon his soul which God would recognize in the day of judgment. They worked, at times, through men and women whose souls they had purchased with temporal rewards. These were the witches and the wizards who were so fearfully persecuted from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

Protection against the power of the devils was sought in the use of sacred objects. Charms and amulets, a few drops of holy water, the sign of the cross, a bit of consecrated wafer sewed in one's shirt, a few hairs from a saint's head, a few threads from his garment, were believed to afford protection. Equally effective was prayer to the saints, those holy ones who had done on earth more than God required for their salvation, and who from their place in Paradise could offer to the Almighty petitions which He would not disregard.

The Saints

The number of the saints was legion, and many of them were thought to have special power over certain special ills: St. Blasius healed diseases of the throat, St. Gumprecht the bite of dogs, St. Anthony erysipelas. A man, a society, a town, a nation placed itself under the protection of a special saint; St. Mark watched over the welfare of Venice, St. George over the kings of England, St. Michael over the dukes of Normandy. Greatest of all the saints was the Blessed Virgin; she would hear the prayers of those to whom her Son was deaf and whatever she asked of Him would be granted. Second only to the Virgin was her mother, St. Anne. Thus the kingdom of holiness formed a parallel to the kingdom of wickedness. As there were many evil spirits intermediate between man and Satan, so there

were many holy spirits intermediate between man and God. Heaven had its hierarchy, its graduated scale of dignity and power, and so had hell.

But the supreme protection that men possessed against the powers of evil resided in the Church. It was a great institution visible to the eyes of men, founded by Christ, divinely organized in a descending scale of dignity and power from pope to acolyte, and entrusted with the administration of the grace of God. God's grace had been deposited with the pope, Christ's vicar, to be passed on to men through the regular organization of the Church. Men were not its members, but its subjects. What they were to do and what they were to believe was told them from above; their part was but to hearken and obey, trusting in the divine power, committed to the pope and by him to the clergy, to save them from the consequences of their sins. To the relief of the universal fear the Church brought a divine mysterious power.

The Church a Ruling Institution

The means by which this was accomplished were the sacraments. Since 1215 the number of them had been definitely fixed at seven. They were in the pope's power, to give or to withhold. Ordinarily he permitted them to be administered through the bishops whose appointment he approved, and they, in turn, delegated the administration of most of them to the priests whom they ordained. But except with the approval of the organization, the sacraments could not be given, and the decree of the organization could at any time withdraw them, and leave men destitute of the divine gift of grace. This

The Sacraments

was the tremendous meaning of excommunication to the medieval man; this was the reason why an interdict, prohibiting the administration of the sacraments, could bring the most stubborn princes to their knees before the pope, for the sacraments were necessary to salvation. Through them the grace of God was spread abroad through the world "as the canals of some great irrigating system carry the life-giving waters to the thirsty plant-roots, causing them to bring forth their fruit." The Church taught men that the sacrament was perfect when a regularly appointed minister spoke over the proper elements the proper form of words and administered them in the regularly appointed way, with the intention to perform the sacramental act. Then they became vehicles of God's grace, though men might refuse to accept that grace by opposing it with the intention to commit sin.

Of the seven sacraments, one was for the clergy only. It was ordination, which set the priest apart, from other men and gave him power over the other sacraments.[2] Baptism, confirmation, marriage and extreme unction were for the use of Christians in each of the four critical periods of life—infancy, adolescence, maturity and the hour of approaching death. Penance and the mass were for daily use.

The mass had been enshrined in an elaborate ritual, like a rare gem in a costly setting. Each time the priest spoke the appointed words over the bread and wine, he did two things—he performed a miracle and offered a sacrifice. The miracle was transsubstantiation. The elements ceased to be bread and wine and became the

The Mass

[2] Except confirmation, which was reserved to the bishop.

body and the blood of Christ. But since blood is always a part of the body, the communicant—when there were communicants—needed to receive only the wafer, which was the body. After the miracle, came the sacrifice. It was a repetition of what Christ had done on Calvary. The broken body and the outpoured blood were offered to God as a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead, or at least for the sins of all those who were in the priest's intention when he performed the act. The liturgy of the mass reached its dramatic climax when the consecrated wafer, the "host," was lifted high, and as the mass-bell rang, the worshipers prostrated themselves in adoration of the physically present Christ. What wonder that in a credulous age superstitions of every kind should have gathered around this mysterious transaction, and that the adoration of the broken body should have become a veritable idolatry!

The other sacrament for daily use was penance. The Church taught men that baptism bestowed complete forgiveness of sins on all who received it; for sins committed after baptism the means of forgiveness was penance. In the Latin language the ideas "penance," "repentance," "penitence" are all expressed by a single word, and all that the Scriptures said about repentance were applied to the sacrament that bore that name. It was taught that every sin was separately charged to men in God's account. But not every sin condemned men to eternal death; some sins were venial, others were mortal, and these mortal sins laid upon men a guilt so deep that it must be punished with damnation, unless forgiven through the sacrament of penance. This

Penance

class of sins had been made so large that they were almost numberless. The suppliant for forgiveness must therefore appear before the priest and confess his sins. He must earnestly search memory and conscience to make sure that no mortal sin was overlooked. He must confess them with sorrow, either because he had offended the God he loved (contrition), or because he feared their consequences (attrition). Then the priest pronounced the absolution, and straightway a miracle of God's grace was performed —the guilt of the sins confessed and its eternal penalty were cancelled. There remained only some lighter penalty to be endured, some good work to be performed as prescribed by the priest. This was "a penance," or "a satisfaction."

The satisfaction no one could escape. It might go neglected and unfulfilled in this life, but not in the life to come. For the doctrine of purgatory complemented that of penance. Purgatory was the place of punishment after death, where all arrears of temporal penalty were collected and punishment was inflicted for those lighter, venial sins which do not merit everlasting death. The pains of purgatory, so the Church taught, differ in no respect from those of hell, save that they will one day end; they cannot last beyond the Judgment Day. Through this place of punishment all souls must pass,[3] for there is no one who has paid in this life all the penalties of his sins. In the common man's religion the thought of purgatory, therefore, played as large a

Purgatory

[3] Theoretically, indeed, there were exceptions, but practically these exceptions were so rare that they scarcely counted.

part as that of hell. He needed not to be in fear of hell, if he had rightly used the sacrament of penance, but purgatory must be borne, and every man's time in purgatory would be proportioned to the faithfulness with which he had done the penances which the Church prescribed.

But the Church had a means for lightening, or even remitting altogether, the pains of purgatory. It was the indulgences. To secure an indulgence a man had to do some good work which the Church prescribed. It might be any one of many things—a pilgrimage to a designated shrine, a prayer said in a stipulated church, the adoration of some sacred relic, a wafer that exuded drops of blood, a vial of the Virgin's milk, the contribution of a sum of money to some specified cause, like the building of a church or even the repairing of a bridge. The essential thing was that the Church prescribed the thing that must be done. That work then took the place of either all or part of the temporal penalties which men had to suffer in this world or the next. The theory of it was that the Church had at its disposal an infinite treasury of merits, earned by Christ and the saints, and out of that treasury it could bestow as much of that merit as it chose to give, on anyone whose sins had been forgiven in the sacrament of penance. As the sacrament freed men from fear of hell, so a plenary indulgence might free them from the fear of purgatory, while a partial indulgence would relieve them from some specified portion of their penances or of their time in purgatory. These indulgences were, in the course of time, extended to purgatory itself, and souls in purgatory might be relieved if some one still

Indulgences

living did the work for which the indulgence was granted.

The indulgences provided the Church with an almost inexhaustible source of revenue. They were granted lavishly, but never unconditionally, and the commonest condition attached to them was contribution to some churchly object. Ultimately, therefore, they came to be bought and sold, and the merits of Christ and of the saints were publicly offered in exchange for money.

The sacraments were necessary to salvation, but the common man did not put his trust in them alone. He believed in the merit of good works. The Church taught him, indeed, that works were good only when the mysterious grace of the sacraments made them so, but he used the sacraments as a matter of course and the emphasis in his religious life fell as strongly on his own works as on the sacraments themselves. He was taught to distinguish between two kinds of work—those which the Gospel commanded and those which it advised. To the former class—the "evangelical precepts"—belonged the keeping of the Ten Commandments, obedience to the Church's laws and the regular use of the sacraments, for even this last was regarded as a "work." To the latter class—the "counsels of perfection"—belonged all those renunciations and self-denials which found their most complete exemplification in the monastic life; they were not necessary to salvation and failure to obey them was not sin. If he disobeyed the "precepts," he could secure forgiveness in the sacraments, and especially in that of penance; the penance which he did cancelled all the pen-

Good Works

alties of sins confessed, and the doing of works that were not commanded earned him peculiar rewards in the life to come. Fasting, almsgiving and prayer were the deeds on which men counted to win for them an "increase of eternal blessedness." But when their works failed, and their thoughts turned in terror upon God's tremendous judgment, they sought again the ministrations of the Church and that mysterious "grace" which it had received from Christ.

All of this was more than a system of theology. It was a view of life and death and things present and things to come. It was a religion, a way of believing and a way of living. It had not grown up in a day, but was the product of a thousand years of history. The hold which it had upon men's minds was so deep and strong that it remained the religion of millions, even after the Reformation. It is still, in its essential features, the religion of the Roman Catholic of today. Criticism of the Church as an institution, the revelation of scandal and immorality in the lives of the clergy, from pope to acolyte, disbelief in one or another of the theological teachings of the Church—these were not enough to change a world-view that had become a part of the very nature of the European man. For these things were on the surface, little things that called for minor changes. After two hundred years of criticism, the old ideas still gripped and held men's minds. When the sixteenth century opened men were going on pilgrimage, building churches, buying indulgences, multiplying prayers, and heaping up spiritual credits against the day of judgment more eagerly, perhaps, than at any previous time.

To be sure, there were signs here and there that a change was on the way. One of them was the growing determination of the secular rulers to control the Church in their own territories; another was the increase in mystical religion, for more and more of the devout were interesting themselves in the inner life of the spirit at the expense of the external life of good works; another was the increasing alienation of the lower classes of society, who saw in the Church an instrument of economic oppression, interested in taking their last penny as well as in saving their souls; another was the growing skepticism of the men of the Renaissance toward certain of the doctrines and the legends of the Church; still another was the attempt, which the more serious scholars were beginning to make to reform the Church's thought. Two of these symptoms of change are of special significance.

Symptoms of Change

The fifteenth century had witnessed a growing restlessness and discontent among the lowest classes of society. The movement was not confined to any one country, but was spread quite generally over the lands of Europe. Increasing commerce had brought prosperity to the towns and this had brought political rights to the men who controlled them—the tradesmen and the artisans. But the tillers of the soil and the laborers in the cities had had little or no share in this larger liberty. The peasant was the subject of the man who owned the land which he tilled. There was no open market in which he could sell his labor to the highest bidder, but his economic status was fixed by the law of custom, and his annual income barely sufficed to keep him and

The Peasants

his family alive. On the land which he farmed he might not snare a rabbit or cut down a tree, he might not even catch a fish in the brook that ran by his village, for the land did not belong to him. In times of plenty he had the smallest share in the economic surplus; in times of scarcity it was he who first felt the pinch of hunger.

Throughout the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries the peasants were increasingly dissatisfied with the existing order of things, but there was no way to change them except the way of revolution. More than once that way was tried, but each attempt ended in disastrous failure. The revolts were local and badly organized and led, the revolutionists possessed no economic resources, and were without adequate weapons of force; scythe and flail were poor substitutes for spear and sword. Nevertheless there was scarcely a decade between the English uprising of 1389 and the great German revolt of 1525, when there was not somewhere a revolt of peasants. In all of these revolts the Church was one of the chief objects of attack. The cry, "Down with the priests!" was heard as often as the other, "Down with the lords!" The monasteries shared with the castles the destruction which the revolutionists were able to inflict. The reason for it lay partly in the economic position which the Church held. It was the greatest land-owning power in Europe. As a landlord, the Church was neither better nor worse than others; the tenants of a monastery were as badly off as the tenants of a knight. The deeper reason was that the Church was an integral part of the social order which the peasants wished to destroy. Any

The Revolts

revolution which aimed to displace that order with another had to strike at the Church.[4]

Equally significant, as a symptom of change, was the attitude of the more serious scholars. It has been said that the culture of the Renaissance was pagan.[5] That was true especially of Italy; it was less true in the North of Europe. In England, in Germany, and even in France there were many men who were using the increasing knowledge which the Renaissance produced in the interest of a purification of Christianity. The renewal of the study of Greek opened to these men a way back to the earliest sources of Christian truth and history. They utilized it to learn to know the Greek Fathers and the New Testament. The presence of some of them in the university faculties gave them an immediate audience, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century John Reuchlin began to introduce the scholars of Germany to the study of Hebrew. The men whose names are most closely associated with this Christian humanism are John Colet, Lefevre d'Etaples and Erasmus.

The Christian Renaissance

John Colet (1467-1519) was a native of London, who was for eight years (1496-1504) lecturer at Oxford, and afterwards the founder of St. Paul's School. Jacques Lefevre d'Etaples (1455-1536) was a professor at the University of Paris. The two had this in common that both desired a moral reformation of the Church, and both were interested in the reforma-

The Scholars' Reformation

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[4] This is the explanation of the hostility of modern socialism to the established church in the European countries.

[5] Above, p. 167.

tion of theology. They wished to take the thought of the Church away from the subtleties and fine distinctions of scholasticism and center it upon the New Testament and the Christian Fathers. Lefevre especially was a student of St. Paul, and in his commentaries, published in 1512, he anticipated many of the doctrines which Luther and Calvin afterwards made famous.

But the greatest of these scholarly reformers was Desiderius Erasmus (1466 or 7-1536). A native of Rotterdam, he was educated first in Holland and then at the Universities of Cologne and Paris. After 1498 he was a wandering scholar, making his living with his pen. He was a teacher, too, but only when he had to be to earn a living. He was not only the greatest Christian scholar of his generation, but the most popular author of an age when the printing-press was beginning to make literature relatively easy of circulation. The Renaissance produced no keener critic of the Church. In his popular books, as well as in his more scholarly writings, he flayed the corruption of the Church, the ignorance and degradation of the clergy, the prevalence of superstition, the divorce between morals and religion. The great ambition of his life was to release men's minds from the tyranny of false ideas, and especially of false ideas about religion. He believed that this could be done best by making them acquainted with Christianity in its earliest forms. His Greek New Testament (1516) was the first publication of the entire New Testament in its original language, and his Latin editions of the Church Fathers, begun in 1516 and continued until his death, made large por-

Erasmus

tions of the early Christian literature available to men who had not known them before.

All of these men were in a sense reformers. They not only saw the ills of the Church, but they also had a remedy for them in a return to the Bible. They prepared the way for the great Reformation that was to come, but none of them did more than prepare the way. The Reformation demanded greater men, greater in insight, greater in courage. It had to offer a satisfaction to spiritual needs deeper than those of the mind and it had to have a leadership strong enough and bold enough to carry men out of the Church of Rome.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Beginnings of the Reformation

The great Reformation was more than a movement for church-reform. It was a religious revolution. Its leaders broke with the papal church not because it was corrupt, but because it was the embodiment of a religious world-view which they believed to be false.

The Reformation

They had been raised in the Christianity of the Middle Ages, but it failed to satisfy their religious needs. In the New Testament, and especially in the Epistles of St. Paul, they found a gospel which brought them inner peace. In the light of this gospel they came to regard the Roman church as a great system of religious oppression and thought of the pope as Antichrist. They shared with the men of the Middle Ages the conviction that the Bible was the inspired word of God, but they denied that this word could have an infallible interpreter in any institution. Its truth, they declared, was self-evident to any man who sought it humbly and purely. In the Scriptures, therefore, they had a standard by which to judge all religious institutions and all the doctrines which they taught, as well as a sufficient source of Christian truth. On the basis of the Scriptures, then, they ventured either to form new church organizations which should stand entirely for the truth which they had found in Scripture, or to reform the old institution by eliminating

from it the things which contradicted that truth.[1]

These things could not take place without a general upheaval, reaching down to the very roots of the social and political life of Europe. The papal church was an integral part of Europe's political and social system. It was still, despite the Renaissance, the chief factor in the world of thought. The Reformation broadened, therefore, into a general social, political and intellectual movement against the old church. The forces of political ambition, of social discontent and of intellectual freedom rallied to the support of the religious leaders and the Reformation became a movement for the reconstruction of the life of Europe, free from the domination of the papal church.

The Reformation began in Germany and its first, and greatest, leader was Martin Luther (1483-1546). Luther is one of the great personalities of history. An intense and passionate advocate of truth as he saw it, he possessed in marked degree that confidence in his own beliefs and convictions which has characterized all the men who have deeply influenced the minds of others. The very violence with which he attacked those who disagreed with him was due to his own sincere conviction that he knew the truth. For twenty-nine years he was the storm-center of the great revolt against the Christianity of the Middle Ages and the institution which represented it.

Luther was born at Eisleben, in Saxony, November 10, 1483. His parents were both of the peasant-class. His father was a copper-miner who, at the time his son was born, was just becoming a small independent

[1] The former procedure was that of Calvin and the radical reformers, the latter that of Luther and the conservatives.

operator of mines and furnaces at Mansfeld and laying the foundation of a modest fortune. Martin was educated at schools in Mansfeld, Magdeburg and Eisenach, and went to the University of Erfurt in 1501. He took his A.B. in 1503 and his A.M. in 1505, and enrolled at once as a student of law. Quite suddenly, still in 1505, he turned his back upon the career which his father had chosen for him and entered a house of the Augustinian Hermits, one of the orders of mendicant monks. His superiors early recognized his talents and put him in training for the teaching of theology. In 1512 he became professor in the University of Wittenberg and remained in that position until his death in 1546.

Luther's Early Life

Luther himself tells us that his earlier years in the monastery were a time of profound spiritual distress. In the teaching of the Church concerning the forgiveness of sin and the merit of good works he was unable to find peace of conscience. His distress went so far that he believed himself outside the possibility of salvation. From this depression and despair he was rescued by John Staupitz, vicar of the Augustinians of Germany, who pointed him back to Paul. At the same time he was forming the acquaintance of the German mystical literature, among which he prized most highly the *German Theology*.[2] Peace of mind came to him by what he afterwards spoke of as a "divine revelation," concerning the real meaning of the "righteousness of God." It was this spiritual struggle which prepared him to become the great interpreter of the

His "Conversion"

[2] See above, p. 173.

teachings of St. Paul. As early as 1513 he had reached convictions which differed at many points with the commonly accepted doctrines of his day, and through the years to 1517 these convictions were gradually maturing. During these years he was teaching in the university and studying Augustin, the German mystics, the late scholastic theologians, especially William of Occam, and, above all, the Scriptures. He was still unconscious how fundamental and far-reaching were his differences from the papal church, and afterwards said that he was then "a right frantic and raving papist."

On October 31, 1517, Luther published ninety-five theses concerning indulgences. They were prepared as the basis for an academic discussion and were not intended for any larger public than that of the university. The occasion of them was the sale in central Germany of an indulgence for the building of St. Peter's Church in Rome. It granted complete remission of penalties, in this world and the next, to all who would confess their sins and make a suitable contribution to the building-fund of St. Peter's: the same indulgence could be had by souls in purgatory if the living would make the contribution for them. One-half of the proceeds went to the newly-elected archbishop of Mayence to help pay the fees owed to the pope for confirming his election, the other half went to the fiscal agents of the pope. To ensure the largest possible returns, the archbishop had enlisted the services of John Tetzel, a Dominican friar and an expert indulgence-seller. He had prepared a pamphlet of instructions to local agents, and a copy

The Ninety-five Theses

of it had fallen into Luther's hands. It revealed an out-and-out sale of spiritual gifts. The preachers were instructed to make the people see how easy it was to obtain salvation. They could have forgiveness of sins and entire release from the fear of a future purgatory merely by confessing the sins and placing an offering in the contribution-box. Luther's theses were written in deep indignation. They were an attack upon the whole traffic. He declared that the indulgence sellers were misleading the people and degrading the Gospel by making it a means of gain, and that the only indulgences which the pope could grant were remissions of penalties which the Church itself had imposed. The purpose and the spirit of the protest appear quite plainly in the last two theses:

"Christians are to be exhorted that they be diligent in following Christ, their Head, through penalties, deaths and hell; and thus be confident of entering into heaven rather through many tribulations than through the assurance of peace."

In a system as complete as that of the Roman Church, an attack upon any of its well-established practices involves an attack upon the whole system. The questions, "What is an indulgence and what its value?" led necessarily to a discussion of the sacrament of penance. The questions, "Can the pope grant an indulgence and what kind of an indulgence can he grant?" led at once to the question, "What are the limits of papal authority?" This, in turn, was bound to raise the question, "What, then, is the Church?" That is the course which the discussions of the early Reformation period actually took.

The church authorities in Germany saw heresy in the theses and sent them to Rome for examination, while the bold utterances of the Wittenberg professor began to arouse widespread interest throughout Germany, which was increased when he began to defend himself against the replies of those who upheld the indulgence-practice. The printing-press demonstrated its value as a means for the creation of opinion; it multiplied Luther's influence a thousandfold. It was soon evident that he must be silenced.

The first attempt to silence him was made through the authorities of the Augustinian Order. When that failed, he was summoned to Rome for a hearing, but this was modified to a demand that he appear before Cardinal Cajetan, papal legate to the German Diet, meeting in 1518 at Augsburg. To Cajetan's demand that he recant, Luther replied that he must be shown in what respects his teachings were false, and when he departed from Augsburg, he left behind him a formal appeal to a general council of the Church. Carl von Miltitz, acting for the pope, did succeed in getting from Luther a promise that he would be silent until his case had been heard by competent judges in Germany, provided his opponents would likewise be silent. But this truce was of short duration, for in the spring of 1519 Luther was publicly attacked by John Eck, professor in the University of Ingolstadt, and the foremost Catholic theologian of Germany. Eck's attack took the form of a set of theses proposed for discussion between him and Andreas Carlstadt, one of Luther's colleagues at Wittenberg. It was an open challenge, which Luther was not slow to accept.

Procedure Against Luther

The debate was held in Leipzig (July, 1519). It turned chiefly upon the power of the pope. Eck supported the traditional view of the divine power of the papacy, while Luther maintained that the pope's power in the Church was a matter of human, not of divine right. To support this, he developed the thesis that the Church is in reality a spiritual fellowship of all those who believe in Christ. Incidentally Eck forced him to the assertion that both popes and councils not only could err, but had erred. These statements struck at the very foundation of the whole ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages.

The Leipzig Debate

The Leipzig Debate was one of the turning-points in the history of the Reformation. Eck regarded it as a personal triumph. He had made it clear that Luther was a dangerous heretic, and thus had laid the foundation for the forcible suppression of his teachings. Shortly afterwards he went to Rome and returned in September, 1520, with a papal bull, signed in June, which recited forty-one statements, drawn from Luther's writings, which were condemned as either "heretical, erroneous, or offensive to pious ears." Luther was given sixty days in which to recant them, or suffer the penalty of excommunication. It was decreed that all of his writings should be confiscated, wherever found, and publicly burned. Luther published three separate replies to the papal bull, in which he defended the statements that it condemned and supported them with arguments that were far more offensive to his opponents than the statements themselves. His most emphatic answer was given on

The Excommunication

December 10, 1520, when he made a public bonfire of a copy of the bull in the presence of the entire student-body of the University of Wittenberg. His actual excommunication followed, January 2, 1521, but before that time Luther had voluntarily placed himself outside the Roman communion and had declared that the pope was Antichrist and Rome a "nest of the devil."

For the Leipzig Debate had rendered Luther more bold than ever. He had come at last to see how complete his disagreement with the papal church really was. In tract after tract, written in Latin for the scholar and in German for the common man, he assailed its doctrines and its life and asserted the doctrines which became the basis of the new church which he was eventually to organize. He wrote on the Church, on penance, on baptism, on the mass. In an *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* he scored the corruptions of the Roman system and called upon the rulers of his nation to correct abuses without regard to the pope. In a book which he entitled *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* he attacked the Roman doctrine of the sacraments, declaring that there were only two rites—baptism and the Eucharist—which should have that name, instead of the seven which were officially accepted. In this connection he expounded his own views of the sacraments, gathered from the Scriptures. In a little tract *On Christian Liberty,* published in Latin and German, he made the clearest statements concerning the nature and results of faith and its relation to good works that ever came from his pen. In all of this writing Luther made full use of that marvelous literary talent which made him

The Writings of 1520

one of the great figures in the history of written language. His style was bold, rugged, picturesque and wonderfully clear. He wrote in terms that the man of his day could understand without a dictionary or a commentary; if he was sometimes rough and coarse, it must be remembered that roughness and coarseness belonged to the age. His writings were in eager demand throughout Germany; in France and England his Latin works were read. Meanwhile he was continuing at Wittenberg his work of teacher and preacher. His university-lectures contained the same doctrines as his tracts, but in more elaborate and scholarly form. They consisted chiefly of explanations of the Bible-text and were published as commentaries. In his sermons the same truths appear again, but plainly put "for Hans and Gretchen."

By 1520 Luther had become the best known and most popular man in Germany. His following came from many quarters. All who for any reason were opposed to the Church as it was applauded the man who had had the boldness to attack it. The scholars saw in him the man who would break the chains in which the Church was holding even secular learning; the German patriots saw the leader who was pointing the way that Germany could travel to political and economic liberty from Rome; the peasants saw a Moses who would lead them out of the house of economic bondage. They saw what he was striking at and they saw the boldness and the sureness with which his blows were aimed; therefore to all of them he seemed the prophet of a new age, in which each of them would realize his own dreams. A smaller number—

Luther's Disciples

men like Nicholas Amsdorf, John Brenz and Philip Melanchthon, the young professor of Greek at Wittenberg—saw what he was striving for. They were attracted by the positive doctrines he was preaching and accepted his interpretation of the Gospel as their own.

That interpretation centered in the conviction that men are justified by faith. That assertion was not new; it had been made by St. Paul and had never disappeared from the theology of the Church, but Luther gave it new meaning and, true to the teaching of St. Paul, made it the fundamental principle of Christian life, as well as of Christian doctrine. In Luther's theology justification appears as an act of God by which, for Christ's sake, He forgives men all their sin and counts them righteous. It is sharply distinguished from sanctification, the act or process by which God makes men holy. A man may be partially sanctified, he cannot be partially justified; he is either justified entirely or not justified at all. Justification can, therefore, come to men only from God's goodness. It is a gift that He must bestow, not a reward which men can earn, for men are so deeply sunk in sinfulness that they can earn nothing except God's wrath.

His Religion: Justification by Faith

But God is gracious. He has provided salvation for men in Christ and offers it to them in the Gospel. That is His grace; not a magic power that pours through the sacraments into the lives of men, but a goodness of will and purpose which desires to justify men. Yet God cannot grant justification unless men will accept it. The acceptance of God's grace, and of the

Faith and God's Grace

justification which it bestows is the first and most necessary result of faith. Faith is trust in God for Christ's sake, or simply trust in Christ. It is a relation of one person to another, in which the believer relies implicitly and solely upon the goodness and the power of the One in whom he believes. In this relation the believer has forgiveness of sin. God counts him righteous and gives him the Holy Spirit, by whose power he begins to do good works.

To create this faith men need the promises of God. These promises, and they alone, are in the truest sense the Gospel. Even in the New Testament Luther distinguished sharply between law and Gospel. Both are contained in the Scriptures, which are the Word of God. Through the Scriptures men learn to know God's will and the stern demands which it makes upon them; they also learn to know His grace and the salvation which it offers them. The Scriptures are God's Word because they are given by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit and because the Spirit, who inspired them, continues to speak to men through them, moving men's hearts and wills to faith. Luther declared, indeed, that it is only through the truth which the Scriptures reveal that the Spirit does come to men, not through the church organization, not through special revelations. The Church's teaching, therefore, has no authority except insofar as it is grounded in the Scriptures, and even the Scriptures cannot be interpreted except by the man who has faith. Thus man's salvation is altogether the work of God; no part of it is his own. It is his when he accepts it, believes the promises and trusts the God from whom they come.

The Word of God

Then he is justified by faith, and the law, which was before a means to rouse his conscience and convict of sin, becomes a guide for his conduct and sets a goal for the development of character. Sin is not conquered yet, but is continuously forgiven so long as the sinner continues to trust his gracious God.[3] His good works are the fruit of faith, or, what is the same thing, the result of the Spirit's action, Who through the Word, directs and moulds the life of the believing man.

From all of this it follows that the Church cannot be an institution which saves the souls of men by ruling them. It is the same thing as the "communion of saints," a spiritual fellowship of all who are believers and, therefore, justified. All that it can do for men is to bring them the Word of God. It does this in two ways—through preaching and the sacraments. In its preaching it declares both law and Gospel: in its sacraments it declares God's promises and seals them with divinely appointed signs. They bestow "forgiveness of sin, life and salvation on all who believe," though it is not the water of baptism or the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist that confer these blessings, but the Word of God, the promise that is given with them. Luther believed that this Word, whether in sermon or sacrament, was always effective, that is, that whenever it was preached and the sacraments administered, there were sure to be some who would be brought to faith. But wherever believers are, there is the Church. The Church, then, does not depend for its

The Church

[3] This is the doctrine which underlies Luther's words to Melanchthon, which are so grossly misinterpreted by his critics, "Sin boldly, but believe more boldly."

continuity upon any succession of bishops or any constant form of organization. Indeed, it is free to organize as the needs of any time may require, for the Church is the assembly of believers and its ministers are merely officers whom believers choose, in some regular way, to act for them. The believers who form the Church may set up or depose teachers as they see fit.

These were the positive Christian ideas for which Luther stood. Their consistent application would have destroyed the Roman system root and branch. They take away the authority of the Church, its right to rule the souls of men. It cannot be the mediator of God's grace, for that comes to men through the Word. The whole apparatus of ritual is made unnecessary. The scheme of good works falls. The Church becomes a great democracy, divinely entrusted with the Word of God and the sacraments of baptism and the Eucharist. To preach that Word and administer those sacraments are its only office, and every Christian has the power to judge whether its preaching and administration are pure, for he has a standard in the Scriptures.

Contrast with the Religion of Rome

In the forming of Luther's practical program of reform there was a strong conservative principle at work. He believed that all which exists does exist by the will of God. However corrupt the Church may have become, it could not have become corrupt except by God's permission. The whole course of history is a revelation of the will of God, even though His purpose may, at times, have been merely to punish men for their sins. The things

that history has created are, therefore, not to be discarded lightly. The things around us which we perceive to be contrary to the will of God, revealed in Scripture, must be abolished, but to tear down the whole structure which the centuries had produced and build a new one in its place was the farthest thing from Luther's mind. On the contrary, it was his constant effort to retain all that could be kept out of the heritage of the past. Among the reformers he was, after all, the great conservative.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Reformation in Germany and Switzerland (1521-1530)

By 1521 the Lutheran movement had reached such proportions that Luther was summoned to appear before the diet of the Empire, meeting that year at Worms. His appearance there was the most dramatic moment in his career. The diet was the parliamentary assembly. It met at the call of the emperor, and included in its membership all the individuals who had the right to a voice in matters of imperial law or policy. The cities were represented by delegates. The summons to appear before this assembly was the recognition of Luther as a national figure. Germany had a new emperor. Charles V[1] had been elected in 1519. He had been raised in Spain, and this was his first visit to his new dominions. He was a young man, born in 1500, and a devout Catholic. His tutor, Adrian of Utrecht, became pope, Adrian VI, in 1522. In his hereditary lands the bull against Luther had already been published and at various places in the Netherlands bonfires had been made of Luther's books. It was his purpose to use this diet to secure common action against Luther by the German princes. But the diet was not readily disposed to do the emperor's bidding. The princes were jealously eager to keep their independence of imperial dictation. Each of

The Diet of Worms

[1] See above, p. 176.

them was more anxious to maintain his own right to rule his own territories than to strengthen the central imperial control. There were some of the princes, too, who desired to limit the powers which the Church was already exercising and who brought to the diet formal charges against the Church, alleging many points on which it was declared to have violated their political and economic rights and to have caused grievous injury to Germany. These charges were formulated by a committee and adopted by the diet as the *Hundred and One Grievances of the German Nation.*

There was also a part of the membership of the diet which was favorably disposed toward Luther. The most powerful member of this group was Frederick the Wise, of Saxony. He was an elector of the empire and the founder and patron of the University of Wittenberg, a shrewd, stubborn, honest and genuinely religious prince, whose voice had really decided the election of Charles V. It was he who had so far protected Luther by insisting that his case must be decided in Germany and not in Rome, and by refusing to silence him or to obey the papal bull in any way until a fair hearing had been granted. Opinions are divided on the question whether he was a Lutheran or not, but in any case it was his masterly inactivity between 1517 and 1525 which gave the Reformation its opportunity to gain headway. Next to Frederick the Wise, the most important member of this group was Philip the Magnanimous, Landgrave of Hesse. To be sure, he was but a boy in 1521, but was already ruler of a great principality, and in later years the political genius among the Protestant princes. It was

Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse

the insistence of this group which moved the emperor to summon Luther to Worms and grant him safe conduct.

Before the diet Luther was asked two questions—whether he had written certain books, and whether he would retract what they contained. The question whether the contents were heretical was not discussed; it had already been settled by the highest church authority. The diet was concerned with matters of policy, not of doctrine. To the demand that he recant, Luther's final answer, given April 18, 1521, was: "Unless I am convinced by Scripture or by clear arguments, I am bound by the Holy Scriptures, and my conscience is captive to the Word of God. I cannot and will not recant anything, since it is neither right nor safe to act against conscience. God help me. Amen."

Luther at Worms

It was a bold and clear assertion of the right of an individual Christian to be guided by his own conscience, instructed by the Scriptures, in determining what he would believe and teach. It was a refusal to be bound in such matters by the decisions of the Church or the laws of the State. It was an individual declaration of that right to spiritual and intellectual independence which is the basis of modern civic and religious liberty. The Edict of Worms was the answer of the diet. It commanded the execution of the bull of excommunication, declared Luther an outlaw and decreed that all of his writings should be confiscated.

Meanwhile Luther himself had disappeared. He had been secreted in the Wartburg, a castle of the Elector of Saxony, where he was kept in close seclu-

sion for ten months (May, 1521-March, 1522). His chief work during these ten months was the translation of the New Testament. If he had done nothing else to entitle him to fame, this work alone would have made him one of the great figures in the history of the Church. It was not the first German New Testament. There had been at least two earlier translations circulated in numerous editions, but they had been made from the Latin text, under the influence of the traditional interpretation which the Church had given it. Luther's version was a new translation, based on the Greek text which Erasmus had published in 1516. It was made by a scholar who had so far emancipated himself from the church tradition that he could make the accurate rendering of the original his sole concern, and who was a complete master of the language in which he wrote. Tyndale's English version, produced a dozen years later, was largely dependent on Luther's German. After his return to Wittenberg, the work was carefully revised, with the assistance of Melanchthon and others, and published in September, 1522. During the next twelve years he and several of his Wittenberg colleagues were working on the translation of the Old Testament, which appeared in sections. The complete Bible was published in 1534, but almost to the end of his life Luther was revising his work. The last revision was published in 1545.

Luther's New Testament

By the Edict of Worms the Reformation was thrown into German politics. Church and State had done all that legal enactment could do to suppress Lutheran-

ism, but the German Empire was so lacking in administrative organization that no law could be enforced against the will of the more powerful local rulers and they could not agree to put the edict into effect. A few of the princes, like Ferdinand of Austria and the Dukes of Bavaria, did attempt a partial enforcement; there were burnings of Lutheran books and, after 1524, a few executions; but the persecutions were local and sporadic. There were diets at Nuremberg in 1523 and 1524 and at Spires in 1526 and 1529. The representatives of pope and emperor endeavored at these diets to move the territorial rulers to some common action against Lutheranism, but unsuccessfully. The princes were content to isolate the heresy in a few territories and leave the settlement of the whole matter to a general council of the Church, which was constantly promised and as constantly deferred. Meanwhile the princes and the cities were forming two well-defined groups, those who held with Luther and those who held with the old Church. The latter group was the larger and stronger, but it was rent by internal jealousies; the former was smaller, but more compact. It was headed by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. Frederick the Wise died in 1525 and was succeeded by his brother John, who, with his son, John Frederick, was an outspoken and almost truculent supporter of Luther. Nevertheless, a determined effort on the part of the Catholic powers might have suppressed Lutheranism, but only at the cost of civil war, which could not be ventured because of foreign enemies. The emperor and the king of France were at

The Reformation and German Politics

war most of the time between 1521 and 1528, and the pope (Clement VII, 1523-34) pursued the policy of playing the one against the other, so that he could remain independent of both. It went so far that in 1527 an imperial army sacked the city of Rome, captured the pope, and held him for some months a prisoner of war. All the while, too, the Turk was threatening the eastern frontier. Thus Lutheranism continued to flourish despite the laws against it.

After 1524 the Lutheran princes began to reorganize the Church in their territories. The form which the reorganization took reflected the general tendency of the time toward state-control. In France, with its strong central government, this control was exercised by the king with the consent of the pope. In England and in Sweden the effort of the kings to control the Church led to the separation of those countries from the papal obedience. In Germany, the weakness of the central government placed the control over the Church in the hands of the local political powers—the autocratic princes, great and small, and the oligarchical city-councils. Philip of Hesse led the way with his *Reformation of Hesse* (1524), a law for his landgravate, establishing the Church on a Lutheran basis under the general supervision of the State. Saxony followed, and before 1530 Germany had a number of local law-codes (*Kirchenordnungen*) regulating the doctrine and practice of the Church and the administration of the schools. Eventually this practice of state-controlled churches became a burden, leading to the domination of the churches by the political rulers. It was not shaken off until the revolution of 1918, but

The State Churches

at the time when it originated it was inevitable, in Germany as in England and Sweden, for the State was the only power which could establish and maintain the new organizations that were necessary to the continued life of the Church.

When the second Diet of Spires met in 1529 the Catholic majority had evidently decided that the time had come to enter upon a policy of forcible repression. The emperor was in a better position than ever to enforce his opposition to Lutheranism. The diet of 1526 had unanimously resolved to leave the enforcement of the Edict of Worms in abeyance until the meeting of a general council. It had decreed that in the meantime each prince was "so to live, govern and conduct himself as he hopes and trusts to answer for it to God and His Imperial Majesty." The diet of 1529 determined that those princes who were enforcing the Edict of Worms should continue to do so, that the others should introduce no further innovations, and that no one anywhere should be prevented from saying or hearing mass. The enforcement of this edict would have put a stop to the development of Lutheran organizations in the Lutheran parts of Germany. The Lutheran minority in the diet replied to the edict with a formal protest, signed by six princes and the representatives of fourteen cities. They declared that these were matters which concerned God's honor and the salvation and eternal life of their own souls. In these things every man must stand and give account before God for himself. For this reason they were bound to consider the decision of the majority null, void and not binding. This protest was the direct consequence

The Protest of Spires

of Luther's action at Worms. There it was an individual who refused to allow his conscience to be bound save by the Word of God; here it was a group of rulers who refused to allow their official acts in matters of religion to be controlled by the decision of majorities. It was the protest of Spires which gained for its signers the name of "Protestants."

The next year the diet met again, this time at Augsburg. Charles V was present. It was his first appearance in Germany since 1521. In calling the diet he had commanded the Protestants to present a statement of their beliefs as a preliminary to a final effort at settlement. The document which they offered (June 25, 1530) was prepared by Melanchthon and signed by seven princes and the representatives of two cities, four more cities subscribing later. It was not a creed or a system of theology, but a statement of Lutheran teaching on points in controversy. It emphasized the conservative elements in Protestantism and represents the closest approach to the Catholic position which the Protestants were able to make. It was presented in the hope, which Luther did not share, that it might be accepted as satisfactory by the emperor and his Roman advisors. This hope was not fulfilled, but the Augsburg Confession became, from that time on, the recognized standard of Lutheran teaching. It is the earliest Protestant confession of faith and is the one confession that is still subscribed by all the Lutheran churches of the world. The decree of the diet gave the Protestants until April 15, 1531, to decide whether they would abide by the Confession or come into agreement with the Catholic

The Confession of Augsburg

church, refraining meanwhile from interference with anyone who wished to practice the old religion. The emperor, for his part, declared that he would use the interval to determine what was to be done with them, and promised that a general council of the Church would be called within six months and meet within eighteen months to reform the acknowledged abuses in the Church's life. Thus the great decade of the Reformation ended with a compact group of Protestant powers openly opposing a less compact Catholic majority which was merely waiting a convenient opportunity to extirpate the new teaching.

The Religious Radicals

During the same decade, however, there had been defections from Luther's following. Many of those who had hailed his revolt with joy had deserted him. The first to be shaken off were the religious radicals. While Luther was at the Wartburg, the chief figure at the University of Wittenberg was Andreas Bodenstein, better known as Carlstadt. He had come to Wittenberg in 1512 a strong conservative, but when Luther published his theses he became his most outspoken supporter. He took part against Eck in the Leipzig Debate of 1519 and by 1521 had developed reforming ideas more revolutionary than Luther's own. During Luther's absence he advocated the marriage of the clergy, the abolition of monasteries and nunneries, the immediate restoration of the Eucharistic cup to the laity, the substitution of German for Latin in the mass, and the removal of vestments, pictures and images from the churches. His views were received with tumultuous approval and rioting broke out in the city. The disturbances were increased by the arrival, in

the last days of 1521, of three radical agitators from the neighboring city of Zwickau, the home of Thomas Münzer, a preacher of religious revolution who was afterwards involved in the Peasants' War and put to death. These Zwickau "prophets" claimed to be directly inspired by the Holy Ghost, repudiated infant-baptism and advocated the immediate overthrow of the existing church-order. The elector was deeply troubled by the situation and inquired of Luther what he should do.

In March, 1522, Luther replied by appearing suddenly in Wittenberg. In a series of eight sermons, preached on successive days in the city-church, he made his own views on the situation clear. They were based on two principles. The first was the sole authority of Scripture. As he had repudiated the authority of the Church when it presumed to derive doctrine from tradition, so he repudiated the "spirit," who claimed inspiration for doctrines not contained in the Bible. He maintained that the Holy Spirit speaks only through the Word of God, and only that truth can rightly claim to be the Word of God which is derived from the canonical Scriptures, interpreted in their literal sense. The second principle was that of love. In making reforms, consideration must be given to the effect which they will have on other men. Education in Christian truth must necessarily precede complete reformation in church practice. However wrong the Roman church might be in withholding the cup from the laity, it was no more wrong than the enthusiasts who had hastened to restore it before the people were ready for the change.

Luther's Two Principles of Reform

As for vestments, pictures, and the like, these were wrong only because they had been wrongly used, not evil in themselves. The result of Luther's interference was the expulsion of Carlstadt and the "prophets" from the city and the restoration of order, but it meant the permanent alienation of a part of Luther's following. Radicalism did not cease to exist but it was driven outside the sphere of Luther's influence.

Equally important was the defection caused by the attitude which Luther took in the Peasants' War of 1525. The revolt was the last of a long series.[2] It was hastened by the agitation of radicals like Münzer, but its underlying causes were economic. Luther had seen it coming. He had repeatedly warned the princes that their tyranny was driving their subjects to insurrection. Up to the very moment that the peasants took up arms his sympathies were with them. But when violence began, the full flood of Luther's angry disapproval was poured upon the peasants. By setting at nought the regularly adopted laws of men, they were defying the laws of God, for "the powers that be are ordained of God." When the revolt was put down, as it quickly was, his sympathy was again with the peasants and he spoke in terms of unmeasured severity against the "bloody dogs," the princes, who were revenging themselves upon the helpless peasants. But the whole episode left a deep impression upon the history of the Reformation. The peasants had looked to Luther as a prophet of liberty; now they were either sullenly indifferent or passively hostile to him. The way was open for the entrance of radical propa-

The Peasants' War

[2] See above, p. 188.

ganda and the Anabaptist movement began to take root among the masses. On the other hand, Luther's confidence in "the common man" was shaken by the revolt. The masses had proved themselves untrustworthy. His reliance for the carrying through of his reforms was placed thenceforth not upon them, but upon the upper classes, the princes, the nobles and the aristocrats of the cities. Yet Luther's attitude was thoroughly consistent. Respect for constituted authority in all things that do not immediately concern the soul's salvation was ingrained in his nature. As he had previously advised the elector that he had no right to use force against the emperor in defence of the Reformation, so now he told the peasants that, however grievous the tyranny of their lords might be, they had no right to throw it off except by regular legal process. He knew nothing and would hear nothing of "the sacred right of revolution."

In 1524 came the break between Luther and Erasmus, the prince of European scholars. Erasmus had welcomed Luther's early activities, though he had never committed himself to Luther's cause. As time went on, he found himself more and more repelled by Luther's vehemence and out of sympathy with many of his teachings; nevertheless, he refused to write against him because he disapproved even more heartily of Luther's opponents. Luther, for his part, showed increasing impatience with the great humanist. He spoke of him as a Moses, who had led his people out of Egypt, but would die on the plains of Moab and never enter the promised land. At last, in 1524, Erasmus published an attack on Luther, a book

Luther and Erasmus

on the *Freedom of the Will.* Luther's reply, *On the Will in Bondage,* provoked a second attack, the *Hyperaspistes.* The breach between the two was complete. It was more than a personal quarrel, for Erasmus represented the best religious thought which humanism had produced. Despite many common ideas, the two men really stood for contrasted interpretations of religion. To Luther it was an experience by impotent and helpless man of the pardoning and sanctifying grace of God; to Erasmus it was a life according to the law of Christ revealed in the Scriptures.

The Sacramentarian Controversy

Between 1524 and 1530 there was a bitter controversy over the Real Presence in the Eucharist. It began with the expression by Carlstadt of a particularly foolish interpretation of the words, "This is my body." He maintained that when Jesus said, "this," He pointed to Himself. The words would therefore mean, "Take and eat this bread; this which you see before you is my body." This view was, of course, hotly repudiated by Luther, but it opened the discussion of the real meaning of the sacrament, and ultimately brought Ulrich Zwingli into the controversy.

Ulrich Zwingli 1484-1531

Ulrich Zwingli was born January 1, 1484, at Wildhaus in Switzerland. He was educated in schools at Basel and Berne and at the Universities of Vienna and Basel. In 1506 he became parish-priest at Glarus. During the next ten years he developed remarkable gifts as a preacher and became, at the same time, one of the foremost classical scholars in Switzerland. From 1516 to 1518 he was "peoples' priest" at Einsiedeln,

where there was a famous shrine of pilgrimage. On three occasions between 1506 and 1518 he was in Italy, as chaplain of Swiss mercenary troops. In January, 1519, he secured a position at the Great Minster in Zürich. He went to Zürich convinced that the Church needed a thorough moral reformation and that the way to effect it was to return to the Bible. He was already outspoken in his criticism of many things in the Church, but in his program of reform he had not gone beyond Erasmus. Between 1519 and 1522 he formed acquaintance with Luther's writings and was deeply influenced by them, though he never became a Lutheran and always denied that he had borrowed from the great German.

In March, 1522, he published the work which began his career as a reformer. It was a defence of the eating of meat in Lent. The point of contention was trivial, but Zwingli's argument led him to discuss the theory of good works and the authority of the Church. In a second work, published August, 1522, under the title of *Architeles* ("Beginning and End") he maintained that the Scriptures were the sole final authority which a Christian could accept. All of this, naturally, led him into controversy with the church authorities, and the bishop of Constance, in whose diocese Zürich was located, demanded that the city-council compel him to silence. This led to the First Zürich Disputation (January 29, 1523). The sixty-seven articles which Zwingli prepared for this disputation may be compared with Luther's ninety-five theses. They begin with the statement, "All who say that the Gospel is nothing unless it have the support

The Reformation in Zurich

and approval of the Church are in error and blaspheme against God." They then proceed to discuss many points of doctrine and practice on which the Church is violating this fundamental principle, and present a clean-cut, positive statement of Zwingli's own beliefs. He defended the articles in the presence of the Zürich city-council, which decided that he should be allowed to continue his preaching, and that the clergy in the territories of Zürich should preach "nothing except what they could prove by the testimony of evangelical doctrine and the authority of Holy Scripture." During the next two years the city-council enacted laws which embodied Zwingli's ideas of reformation. Images were put out of the churches, the mass was abolished and the religious houses dissolved. Zürich was definitely sundered from the Roman Church.

The Spread of the Zurich Reformation

After 1525, the Zwinglian movement began to spread into other parts of Switzerland. First Berne, then Basel, Biel and other of the Swiss cantons began to introduce Zwingli's reforms. In 1529 these reformed cantons had to take up arms against the Catholic cantons in defence of their right to reform the Church. The result (the First Peace of Kappel, 1529) was a drawn battle. The reformed cantons were allowed to keep their church doctrine and practice, but the Catholic cantons might still refuse to allow the introduction of the Reformation. Here, too, as in Germany, the Reformation had almost immediately become a political issue, and it was the ruling classes that were in control of the church situation. The Zürichers sought for support in Germany. They made friends in many of the South German

cities, especially in Strassburg. Martin Bucer, the chief reformer of Strassburg, a friend and follower of Luther since 1518, was particularly friendly.

The influence of Zwingli in Southern Germany brought discord into the ranks of Luther's followers. For Zwingli and Luther, though they had many things in common, were antipodal characters. Luther's temperament was that of the mystic, Zwingli's that of the scholar and statesman. Luther was an idealist, Zwingli a practical reformer. Luther had revolted from the sin that he found within him, Zwingli from the evil that he saw around him. Luther's primary problem was sin and grace, Zwingli's was authority. Both of them rest their teachings on the Scriptures, but Luther asks, "What have they to say to my soul?" Zwingli, "What do they teach my mind?" For Luther the doctrine of man's total inability to do good was the key to all religious experience; to Zwingli it seemed that the ability to do good was the chief advantage that man had over the lower creatures. In the practical work of reforming the Church, these differences led Luther and Zwingli in opposite directions. Zwingli aimed to abolish the whole ecclesiastical system, Luther desired to keep all of it that could be retained.

Luther and Zwingli

The differences between the two reformers came clearly to light in their teaching concerning the sacraments. To Zwingli they were chiefly marks of profession by which men testify to their faith; his emphasis fell very strongly on what men do in the sacrament. To Luther they were signs, given to men by God in confirmation of His promises. Ultimately this difference

The Real Presence

focused upon the question of the Real Presence in the Eucharist. In 1524 the Strassburg preachers addressed letters to Luther and to Zwingli asking their opinion concerning Carlstadt's interpretation of the Words of Institution. Luther replied with a statement of what is generally known as the Lutheran doctrine. He held that the body and blood of Christ are really given to all who receive the elements of the Eucharist, though the bread and wine are not transformed into body and blood, as the Roman church was teaching. Nevertheless the presence of the body and blood is apprehended only by faith, and is the sign of God's promise to forgive men's sins and grant them everlasting life for Christ's sake. Zwingli's answer set forth the view of the matter commonly associated with his name. He had adopted it from Cornelius Hoen, a Hollander, who had previously suggested the same interpretation to Luther. According to this view the words, "This is my body," mean "This bread signifies my body." Christ's body is not given to communicants, and the value of the sacrament lies in its testimony to the faith of the communicant and in the reminder which it gives of the sacrifice of Christ upon the cross. In 1525 Bucer published a tract on the Eucharist in which he argued for Zwingli's view. The Lutherans regarded this as a challenge, which they eagerly accepted. Brenz, Bugenhagen, Urban Regius and others took up the gauntlet, and tract followed tract in rapid succession. It was not until 1527 that Luther himself entered the controversy, and then only after he had been attacked by Zwingli.

After the second Diet of Spires, in 1529, Philip of Hesse, who was strongly, if not deeply, influenced by

Bucer, attempted unsuccesfully to bring the two reformers to agreement. He was planning a league for the resistance of the Hapsburg power, and desired to unite all the political units of Germany and Switzerland that were opposed to the old church. He hoped to include Denmark and, ultimately, France in the league. He discovered, however, that the Elector of Saxony would not join him without Luther's consent, and knew that Luther's consent could not be obtained except on a basis of doctrinal agreement. Accordingly he invited Zwingli, Œcomlampadius and Bucer to meet with Luther and Melanchthon at his castle at Marburg. The meeting was held in the end of September, 1529. It resulted in a general agreement on fourteen points of doctrine and a complete disagreement on the fifteenth, which concerned the Eucharist. Zwingli would not agree to any formula which admitted any kind of a Real Presence, and Luther would not agree to any which did not assert a Real Presence. In 1530, therefore, there were two parties among the German Protestants. Zwingli presented his own confession, the *Ratio Fidei,* to the Diet of Augsburg, and the Lutherans in their Confession energetically repudiated all connection with the "sacramentarians," as they called Zwingli's adherents.

The Colloquy of Marburg

In the midst of these distractions Luther was busy with the introduction of practical reforms in the evangelical churches. In 1524 he published the first evangelical hymn-book, a little collection of eight hymns for congregational use. His *Formula Missae* (1523) and his *German Mass* (1526) were liturgies suggested for use in the re-

The Catechism

organized churches. But the greatest work which he did in these years was the preparation of the *Small Catechism* (1529), a simple exposition of the chief points in Christian doctrine, intended chiefly for the instruction of children. It contains, in about twenty-five pages, brief explanations of the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, with additional sections on the two sacraments. It is a model of simple, direct and positive religious instruction, based to a large extent on earlier writings of his own, and putting into the fewest possible words the whole of that Gospel for which he was contending. Next to his Bible, it is the greatest and most enduring of his works. As a companion-piece, for the clergy, rather than the laity, he issued at the same time the *Larger Catechism,* an extended commentary on the same subject-matter.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Completion of the German Reformation (1531-1580)

The adjournment of the Diet of Augsburg left the Protestants in suspense. They had no intention of deserting their Confession. Indeed, before the diet adjourned Melanchthon was already at work on the Apology of the Augsburg Confession, a defence of its statements which emphasized the differences with Catholicism. But the alternative seemed to be open war.

The Smalcald League

In these circumstances Philip of Hesse's plan for an alliance of Protestant powers appeared to offer the best solution of their difficulties. Luther's consent was obtained, though not easily, and in February, 1531, the Smalcald League came into existence. The ten princes and eleven cities, who were its original members, bound themselves to defend one another in case any one of them were attacked because of his religion. The membership was afterwards increased by the admission of other units, and after 1535 all members were required to subscribe the Augsburg Confession.

The League was the salvation of German Protestantism. Its military power and its financial resources were large enough to make it formidable. There was always the possibility that if pressed too hard it might ally itself with some one of the emperor's foreign enemies—France or England. The Turk, too, was still

menacing the Eastern lands of the Hapsburgs, which would be easy prey if Germany were involved in civil war. The Catholic princes, too, were not in full accord. The Dukes of Bavaria, especially, were jealous of the Hapsburgs, and their jealousy was increased when Ferdinand of Austria was chosen by the electors, in 1531, to succeed Charles V at the next vacancy. In these circumstances the emperor did not dare proceed to extreme measures, and in 1532 a formal truce was declared between Catholics and Protestants, to last until the long-awaited general council, or until a new decision of the matter by the diet. The truce actually lasted until 1546.

The Spread of Lutheranism

During these years the Reformation spread into new territories. In 1533 Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg, who had been an exile from his duchy since 1518, was restored to power, largely by the aid of Philip of Hesse, and immediately proceeded to introduce the Reformation there. Pomerania, Mecklenburg and Hanover became Protestant states, as did Brandenburg and Ducal Saxony. The two last named were powerful additions to Protestantism. Joachim I, Margrave of Brandenburg and head of the house of Hohenzollern, and George the Bearded, Duke of Saxony, had been the bitterest opponents of the Reformation in Northern Germany. Joachim died in 1535, and his successor, Joachim II, began to reform the Church in his lands in 1539. By 1542 Brandenburg was Lutheran. In 1539 George of Saxony died, and was succeeded by his brother Henry, who had long been sympathetic toward Protestantism. The very next year he published a Protestant church-law for his duchy. By

1540 practically all of Northern Germany was officially Lutheran, the Catholic portions being chiefly the territories belonging to princes of the Church, the bishops and archbishops. The progress of Protestantism had been so rapid toward the end of the decade that, in 1540, it seemed possible that Catholicism would be driven out of Germany entirely. In Bohemia and other border states there were large numbers of Lutherans. If the Smalcald League had been willing to take the offensive, it could easily have become the nucleus of a new, Protestant, German Empire.

In 1539 Charles V made a new agreement with the League, extending the Truce of 1532, and entered, at the same time, upon a new series of negotiations for a reunion of the Protestants with the old church. The proposed general council had not yet come to pass. Such a council had been called, indeed, to meet at Mantua in 1537, but it had been decided to postpone it to a later date. The one effect which the call for the council had was to compel the Protestants to define their attitude toward it, and the League had decided not to be represented. The reasons were set forth by Luther in a document composed in December, 1536, and generally known as the Smalcald Articles. They are the most important of Luther's later writings.

Attempts at Reunion

In 1540 and 1541 a series of discussions was held in which Lutheran and Catholic theologians took part (the Colloquies of Hagenau, Worms and Ratisbon), but they were without result, and pope and emperor resolved at last upon the use of force, though they had to wait until the occasion was fully ripe. That

time came after 1544. In that year the king of France and the emperor made peace after another of their frequent wars. In the treaty (the Peace of Crespy) they agreed that they would do two things, *viz.*, wipe out heresy in their dominions and compel the pope to issue another call for the council. The council was called before the year was out, and met at Trent in 1545, but it was not till 1546 that Charles V was ready to take the field against the Smalcald League.

Meanwhile, Luther died, February 18, 1546. Worn though he was by labor and anxiety, he had lived to what was in his time a ripe age, for he was sixty-three. For years he had been a sufferer from renal calculus and chronic indigestion, but had managed, despite these handicaps, to do the work of five or six ordinary men. But his work was done. The prolonging of his life would not have affected the subsequent course of history materially, though it might have postponed the doctrinal controversies that broke out among his followers as soon as he was gone. His last great works were the Smalcald Articles (1536) and his book *On the Councils and the Churches* (1539).

Luther's Death

In the Summer of 1546 the emperor struck at last. The diet was meeting at Ratisbon, and Philip of Hesse and John Frederick, elector of Saxony, were placed under the ban of the empire for alleged violations of imperial law. The real situation was apparent, however, when Pope Paul III declared the war against these princes to be a crusade and offered an indulgence to those who would take part in it. In July, 1546, the Smalcald League placed three armies in the field.

The Smalcald War

They took the offensive and the first campaign was fought in the South, on Catholic territory. Then Maurice, Duke of Saxony, the brilliant, ambitious and unscrupulous son of that Duke Henry who had become a Protestant, took the field against the League. His support had been bought by the emperor with the promise that he should be elector in John Frederick's place. At the battle of Mühlberg, April 22, 1547, John Frederick's army was dispersed and he was made a prisoner; a few months later Philip of Hesse surrendered. Ulrich of Würtemberg had already been beaten. The League was conquered, and the future of Protestantism seemed to lie in the emperor's hands.

It was the pope who saved Protestantism. He transferred the council, then in session, from Trent to Bologna, thus offending the emperor, who saw in it an attempt to bring the council entirely into Italian control, and more than suspected political motives in the background. Therefore he determined to introduce a reformation of his own in Germany. In May, 1548, the diet, meeting at Augsburg, adopted a church-law for the Empire (the Augsburg Interim). It took the same form as the church-laws already governing the Protestant churches, in that it regulated details of doctrine and usage, but it meant the recatholicizing of all the Protestant territories. In July the emperor published an edict introducing into Germany the reforms in church life which the diets had been asking for since 1521. His purpose was to give Germany a reformed Catholic church. But again it was demonstrated that it was one thing to get laws

Charles V as a Reformer of the Church

through a German diet and quite another thing to get them enforced. The Protestants fell back upon a policy of passive resistance, and the princes were unwilling to carry matters to extremes. Melanchthon, to be sure, the acknowledged leader of the Lutherans after Luther's death, was willing to accept a compromise, and the compromise which he proposed (the Leipzig Interim, 1548,) was actually put into effect in Saxony and Brandenburg, but its chief result was to cause the stricter Lutherans to repudiate Melanchthon utterly.

Three years later the situation was suddenly altered. Maurice of Saxony changed sides again. It became known to the German princes that Charles V and his brother Ferdinand of Austria were planning to secure the imperial crown in the permanent possession of the Hapsburgs. It was already settled that Ferdinand should succeed his brother; now it was proposed that the son of Charles should succeed Ferdinand, thus giving the imperial title alternately to the Austrian and Spanish branches of the house. A conspiracy of the princes was formed, with Maurice as its leader. Quietly they prepared for war against the Hapsburgs. It came in 1552. A single campaign, lasting but two months, laid all Germany at the feet of Maurice, and the Peace of Passau (June, 1552) provided that the religious situation should be restored to its status of 1545. All that the Catholics had gained by the Smalcald War was taken from them. This Peace was to last until the next meeting of the diet, which was not held till 1555. Before that time Charles V turned over to Ferdinand the entire direction of things in Ger-

The Peace of Passau

many (1554) and in 1556 he formally abdicated in his brother's favor, a thwarted and beaten man. He had set his heart on three things—the establishment of the Hapsburg power in Germany, the suppression of the Lutheran heresy and the reformation of the Church. He had secured none of them.

The Peace of Augsburg (1555) ended the long struggle. It was a compromise. It recognized the right of two religions to exist within the Empire—Catholicism and the religion of the Augsburg Confession. Calvinism and Anabaptism were excluded from toleration. The toleration granted to Lutherans was still further limited by the provision that each local state should choose which of the two religions it would have. The principle was established, "One local government, one religion." A Catholic prince was not required to tolerate Lutherans, nor a Lutheran prince Catholics. There was an understanding, indeed, that where adherents of one religion were numerous in a state of the opposite faith, they should be allowed to worship in their own way, but this understanding was not a part of the formal treaty. The only right granted to a dissenting minority was the right of emigration. Thus the Peace of Augsburg made of Germany a land Catholic in some parts, Lutheran in others. The Lutheran territories exceeded the Catholic both in extent and in population, but Lutheranism was practically forbidden by law to reach across the boundaries of Catholic states. Already a land of petty states, Germany now became a land of petty state-churches. The Catholic state-churches were united through their common relation to Rome; the Protes-

The Peace of Augsburg

tant state-churches were united only in a common confession of faith. They possessed no organic unity.

The government of the Lutheran state-churches was already fairly established when the Peace of Augsburg was signed. It was not uniform, but all the churches were alike in one respect—the rulers of the states provided for their maintenance and support and controlled their organizations. The decision of doctrinal matters was in the hands of the clergy, but the mass of the laity was excluded from active participation in church affairs, and it was not long until the state-governments were obliged to interfere in doctrinal questions. For the Peace of Augsburg found the clergy of the Protestant churches embroiled in bitter controversies.[1]

Controversies Within the Lutheran Churches

These controversies filled the years from 1548 to 1577 and their echoes lingered into the seventeenth century. Most of them centered around points of doctrine on which Luther and Melanchthon had not been in entire agreement, and divided the Lutheran the-

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[1] The controversies were:

1 The adiaphoristic, caused by Melanchthon's attitude toward Roman ceremonies in 1548 (see above).

2 The Majoristic, which began (1552) with George Major's contention that good works are necessary to salvation.

3 The antinomian (after 1556), which concerned the place of the law in the plan of salvation.

4 The synergistic (after 1555), over the part which man plays in his own salvation.

5 The Osiandrian (after 1552), which centered around a theory of justification proposed by Andrew Osiander of Nuremberg.

6 The cryptocalvinistic, concerning (after 1552) the Real Presence in the Eucharist and (after 1560) Predestination.

7 The Christological, closely connected with the discussion of the Real Presence.

ologians of Germany into two large groups—the Philippists, or Melanchthonians, and the Gnesio-Lutherans. Other controversies were caused by the influence of Calvinism,[2] which had been growing steadily since Luther's death and which strongly attracted the more extreme Philippists. The disputants in these controversies did not form new sects; the laws forbade that, but they contended earnestly for recognition as the true interpreters of the Augsburg Confession, the legal doctrinal standard of all the state-churches. The Confession itself was silent on most of the questions which the controversialists raised, and most of the rest it answered only by implication. It had been prepared for a situation utterly different from that which existed in 1550 to 1560.

The Formula of Concord

Eventually it became clear that some sort of authoritative settlement of these disputes was necessary. But the only authority that could settle them was that of the organized churches, and these were controlled by the princes. After 1567 a small group of theologians was at work trying to prepare a formula that would avoid the extremes to which both parties had gone and be true to the fundamental principles of Luther's teaching. The leaders of the group were Nicholas Selnecker (1530-92), of Wittenberg, Jacob Andreae (1528-90), of Tübingen, and Martin Chemnitz (1522-86), of Brunswick, the last-named the most important Lutheran theologian of the later sixteenth century. Their labors produced, in 1576 and 1577 the *Formula of Concord*, the last of the Lutheran confessions. It contains a discussion and de-

[2] See below, Chapter XXI.

cision of the questions that had been on controversy since 1548, based upon Scripture and the Augsburg Confession. It received the support of the overwhelming majority of Lutheran states in Germany. But inasmuch as the Formula did not enter deeply into the questions at issue between the Lutherans and the Catholics, it was deemed necessary to include with it, among the confessions of the Lutheran churches, a series of other writings. These were the three ecumenical creeds, the Augsburg Confession and its Apology, the two catechisms of Luther, and the Smalcald Articles. The whole collection was known as the Book of Concord. It was published on the fiftieth anniversary of the Augsburg Confession (June 25, 1580) over the signatures of fifty-one princes, counts and barons, including three electors and thirty-five cities, and more than eight thousand of the clergy. Like the Augsburg Confession, it is a legal document, published by the rulers, declaring the religion that is taught, and is to be taught, in their dominions. It was a necessary consequence of the Peace of Augsburg, and marked the doctrinal completion of German Lutheranism, as the Peace marked its political completion.

The Book of Concord

CHAPTER XX.

The Lutheran Reformation Outside of Germany

Among the nations outside of Germany which accepted Lutheranism as their religion, the most important were those of Scandinavia—Denmark, Sweden and Norway. The introduction of the Reformation into these lands was conditioned by their political relationships to one another and by the political situation in the lands themselves. Of the three countries, Denmark was, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, the most prominent. The king of Denmark possessed a legal claim to the crowns of Sweden and Norway, though his claim was recognized only when it could be backed by military force. Within the nations there was the same continual conflict between the crown and the nobles that was characteristic of Germany. To this conflict the Church, with its great wealth and its political power, was always a party.

Christian II became king of Denmark in 1513. He was a nephew of Frederick the Wise of Saxony and was married to a sister of Charles V. He was therefore connected with the political leaders on both sides of the German Reformation. In 1520 he was crowned king of Sweden, but a bloody massacre of his enemies defaced the day of his coronation, and provoked the revolution of 1521, in which Sweden attained permanent independence of the Danish crown. Between 1520 and 1523, Christian made an unsuccessful attempt to introduce the

Denmark

Reformation into Denmark. His motives were mixed. On the one hand, he was a humanist, passing for the most learned king in Christendom, and was inclined to favor the cause of church-reform for its own sake. His connections with Saxony had brought him into contact with Luther, and he tried to get Luther to come to Denmark. On the other hand, the Reformation offered a means by which he might crush the power of the bishops, replenish the royal treasury by the confiscation of church-property, and gain popularity with the townsmen. In 1521, therefore, he promulgated a law establishing the Church in Denmark as a state-church, under control of the crown, and introducing certain of the reforms already under way in Saxony. But the law never went into full effect. A revolution broke out in Denmark (1523) which drove the king into exile. He lived until 1559, but never regained his crown.

Christian II was succeeded by his uncle, Frederick I. He was already Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, and was favorably disposed toward the Reformation, though in the ten years of his reign (1523-33) he did not repeat the mistake of Christian II. On the other hand, he allowed the Danish laws against heresy to go unenforced, while Lutheran preachers were spreading reformation-doctrines through the Danish cities. The leader in this movement was Hans Tausen (1494-1561), "the Danish Luther." He was a friar who had been trained for a professorship at the University of Copenhagen, had accompanied Christian II into exile, and returned to Denmark in 1524, after a year of study at the University of Wittenberg. In 1525 he began to preach

Hans Tausen

Lutheran doctrines in Copenhagen, and in 1526 became a public champion of Lutheranism. By 1527 things had gone so far that the Danish diet, meeting at Odense, passed a law providing that "until the meeting of a general council," "everyone is to enjoy freedom of conscience," the marriage of the clergy is to be allowed, and bishops are to be confirmed by the crown, not by the pope. This law was equivalent to an invitation for the Lutheran preachers to continue their work. In 1530, Tausen and twenty-one others published a confession of forty-three articles which they offered to defend against the Catholics, though the debate was never held. In 1532 Frederick I was admitted into the Smalcald League. Thus Denmark was becoming a Lutheran stronghold, without the sanction of law, except that toleration was granted.

When Frederick I died it was necessary to elect a new king of Denmark. The main issue in this election was the religious question. Christian, Duke of Schleswig-Holstein, was the candidate of the evangelicals, his brother, John, the candidate of the clericals. There was a brief civil war, in which the king of Sweden took a hand, and in 1536 Christian III was firmly established on the Danish throne. In October, 1536, the diet passed a law deposing the bishops, confiscating their property to the crown, abolishing the church-taxes, and bringing the whole church-organization under control of the king. The next year John Bugenhagen was brought up from Wittenberg to prepare a comprehensive church-law for the kingdom, and introduce the new organization. As a part of his work he ordained seven bishops to

The Completion of the Reformation

take the places of those who had been deposed. The Church in Denmark was thenceforth a national church, under royal patronage and control, in which the Augsburg Confession was the recognized standard of doctrine. It had an episcopal organization, but the bishops were the appointees of the crown, and the "apostolic succession" was broken, through the ordination of the first of them by a Lutheran preacher from Germany. But although this state of affairs was created by law, it had not been forced upon the Danish people from above. The law was merely a recognition of the faith that had grown up from below through the preaching of Tausen and his adherents.

Norway

The reformation of Norway followed that of Denmark, for Norway was a dependency of the Danish crown. In the civil war (1533-36) the Norwegian bishops had opposed Christian III. After 1536 it was necessary for him to subdue Norway by force of arms. As the subjugation of the country proceeded, the bishops were driven out, new Lutheran bishops appointed, and the land brought under the church-law of Denmark. By 1540 this process was complete. In that year, too, the Reformation was introduced into Iceland by Gisur Einarson, one of the two bishops of the island. The Catholic bishop, who resisted the innovations, was accused of treason against the king of Denmark and put to death.

Sweden

The Reformation in Sweden ran a different course. It was carried to victory by Gustavus Vasa, the founder of the new Swedish monarchy. In 1521 he headed a revolt of the Swedish nobles against the king of Denmark, and received the

crown of Sweden in 1523. The thirty-seven years of his reign (1523-60) laid the foundation for the international power which Sweden enjoyed in the seventeenth century. He made of Sweden a "modern" state, a highly centralized absolutism which retained the forms of parliamentary government inherited from the later Middle Ages. It was the same kind of a state that Henry VIII produced in England.

In the history of the Reformation in Sweden it is possible to see two forces working side by side, one purely religious, the other political and economic. The religious influence was represented chiefly by three men—Olof Peterson (Olavus Petri, 1493-1552), his brother Lars (Laurentius Petri, 1499-1573) and Lars Anderson (Laurentius Andreae, d. 1552). The first-named was the theologian of the Swedish reformation. He had been a student at Wittenberg from 1516 to 1518 and was a zealous follower of the German reformer. His brother, Lars, had also studied at Wittenberg and the two were in perfect sympathy. Anderson, their intimate friend, was older and was a churchman rather than a theologian. For eight critical years (1523-31) he was the chancellor of the new kingdom, and it was largely through him that the religious and political influences formed connection. The political and economic influences were represented by the king. Gustavus held that the Church was subject to the crown, which unites under its control all the activities of its subjects. The wealth of the Church must, therefore, be at the king's disposal. A refusal on the part of the bishops to contribute to the royal treasury upon the king's demand must be inter-

The Swedish Reformers

preted as treason, and after 1524 the king's demands were becoming constant because of the general poverty with which all classes in Sweden, except the bishops, were afflicted.

In 1527 the Swedish diet, meeting at Westerås, adopted a new church-law for the kingdom. It provided for a reformation of the Church along the lines suggested by Luther in his *Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* The abuses which it corrects are chiefly financial, but in correcting them it strikes at the church-courts, and strictly limits the jurisdiction of the bishops, bringing the entire system under royal control. The only doctrinal clauses in the law are those requiring that "the Gospel shall hereafter be taught in every school," and that "bishops shall consecrate no priest who is incompetent to preach the Word of God." This decree formed the legal basis for the king's subsequent actions. He confiscated large portions of the Church's property, and when the bishops fled the country he caused new bishops to be appointed in their places. These new bishops were consecrated in 1528 by Peter Magnusson, bishop of Westerås, the one remaining Swedish bishop, who had himself been consecrated by the pope. He afterwards declared that he had performed the act under duress, but at all events it gave the Swedish bishops whatever legitimacy comes of the "apostolic succession."

The Decrees of Westerås

Meanwhile Lutheranism was being preached freely in Sweden. In 1524 Olof Peterson, in a public disputation at Upsala, defended a series of twelve Lutheran articles against a Catholic opponent. In 1529 a synod of the Swedish clergy, held at Örebro, resolved

on the introduction of extensive reforms in church practice and worship. Here, too, as in the whole Swedish reformation down to 1539, Olof Peterson was the moving spirit, and his policy, successfully carried through, was to retain all that could be kept of the older church practice, filling the old forms with a new religious content. The smallest possible changes were made in outward ceremonies and in the personnel of the clergy. Thus the Church in Sweden became a national church, like that of Denmark, generally Lutheran in character, but retaining customs and usages which had been abolished in other Lutheran lands.

The Introduction of Lutheranism

After the death of Gustavus Vasa (1560) there were two attempts to change the character of the Swedish church. The one came from Calvinism, which secured for a time strong influence in the kingdom; the other came from the effort to take Sweden back into the obedience of Rome. In 1593, however, the Swedish Church received its final character. A synod of that year (the Upsala Möte) adopted the Augsburg Confession as its doctrinal standard and Luther's Catechism as its hand-book of religious instruction. Thus Sweden was placed definitely in the list of Lutheran lands.

The Religious Settlement

The reformation of Finland was a sequel to the reformation of Sweden, for Finland was a Swedish dependency, and the bishop of Finland was obliged, after 1528, to swear allegiance to the Swedish king. The hero of the Finnish reformation was Michael Agricola (d. 1555), whose religious writings, and especially his transla-

Finland

tion of the New Testament, made him "the father of Finnish literature."

The spread of the Reformation into the Scandinavian countries had been an inevitable result of the contact between those countries and Germany; it was equally inevitable that the neighboring Slavonic lands should be affected by it. The entrance of the Reformation into these countries followed, chiefly, the lines of commercial intercourse. In Germany the cities had furnished Protestantism with some of its strongest centers, and it was by way of the German merchant-corporations that Lutheranism gained its first foothold in Slavonic lands. The first of the Eastern cities to have Lutheran preachers were Riga and Reval (1523). In 1525 the grand master of the Teutonic Knights, Albrecht of Brandenburg, made the lands of the order a secular duchy, and became the first duke of Prussia. His capital was Königsberg. In 1539 his brother, William, was elected archbishop of Riga, and gradually transformed the entire church organization of Livonia into a Lutheran body. As early as 1523 Danzig, then a dependency of Poland, became a Lutheran city.

Eastern Europe

From these centers, along the Baltic, the Reformation penetrated into the kingdom of Poland-Lithuania. It was forbidden by law, but it was accepted by many of the nobles, and the royal government was too weak to prevent it from spreading. After 1540 Calvinistic influences began to enter, chiefly through the advent of Italian refugees who had learned to know Calvinism in Switzerland. By the middle of the sixteenth century the Lutherans and the Calvinists were about equally strong, and were

Poland

in active competition with a variety of religious sects which had found toleration there, though the official religion of the country was still Roman. There was probably no other country in Europe which contained so great a variety of anti-Roman organizations.

Ever since the days of John Hus, Bohemia had contained large numbers of people who were hostile to the Roman church. The Hussite influence had been perpetuated especially in the organization known as the Bohemian Brethren. As early as 1519 Luther had been in correspondence with the leaders of this organization, and it had seemed for a time as though he would form some sort of doctrinal agreement with them. This did not actually come to pass, though the Brethren followed the course of the Reformation in Germany with interest and sympathy. The Bohemian cities, however, contained many German merchants who espoused Lutheranism, which came to be known as "the German religion." It gained some converts also among the Bohemian nobles, whose conversion was followed by the introduction of Lutheranism upon their estates. Before the Peace of Augsburg a large proportion of the Bohemians were professedly anti-Roman, despite the fact that they were under Hapsburg rule, and that Ferdinand, who was nominally king of Bohemia after 1526, was a violent opponent of all other religions than Romanism.

Bohemia

The situation in Hungary was somewhat different. The Hungarian kingdom had been cut to pieces by the Turkish invasion of 1526. Ferdinand secured a part of it, the Turks another part, while a third part was ruled as a distinct kingdom by Zapolya. In this last

section, which included Transylvania, there was a strong German population, the descendants of people who had emigrated from Germany in the eleventh century. These accepted the Reformation, and formed a complete Lutheran church organization, under the leadership of John Honter (1498-1549). In other parts of Hungary the nobles, in considerable numbers, accepted Protestantism and introduced it upon their estates. In the beginning it was Lutheranism which they introduced, but after 1543 the tendency was more and more toward Calvinism. The leaders in the work of reformation here were Matthias Biro Devay (d. 1545) and John Sylvester Erdösy (d. 1560)

Hungary

The year of the Peace of Augsburg (1555) may be taken as date at which, or about which, the Lutheran movement reached its height in these East European lands. By that time it was already in competition with Calvinism, which was gaining ground rather rapidly against Lutheranism, and steadily, but far more slowly against Roman Catholicism.

CHAPTER XXI.

John Calvin and the Genevan Reformation

While Luther was still living, the Reformation gained a new focal point in Geneva, and a second great leader in John Calvin. Calvin was born at Noyon, July 10, 1509. His education was begun with the priesthood in view, and from 1521, when he was twelve years old, till 1529, he enjoyed successively the income of three different church-positions. From 1523 to 1527 he was at the University of Paris, where he must have become acquainted with Luther's teachings, if only from their greatest French opponent, Noel Beda, whose pupil he was. His chief interest, however, was not in theology, but in the classics. In 1528 he gave up his intention to become a priest and took up the study of law, first at Orleans and then at Bourges, where he completed his course in 1531, but the death of his father diverted him again, and he returned to his classical studies. His first published work was an edition of Seneca's *De Clementia* (1532). It was probably the next year that witnessed what he calls his "sudden conversion" to evangelical opinions. Of the circumstances of this conversion we are not definitely informed.

Early Life

Before 1530 there was a strong sentiment in France favorable to the Reformation. It had begun quite independently of Luther's work. In 1512 Jacques

Lefevre d'Etaples had published a commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul, in which he had anticipated many of Luther's teachings.[1] He and his pupils, of whom the most distinguished was William Briconnet, bishop of Meaux, formed a group that was interested in a reformation of the Church from within, though they had neither the desire nor the intention to go outside the Church in order to bring it about. Another party was more nearly in sympathy with Erasmus in his program of purification from moral abuses and return to the Bible. The situation was further complicated after 1520 by the circulation of Luther's works in France. In 1521 the University of Paris formally condemned the statements concerning the Church which Luther had made in the Leipzig Debate,[2] and in the same year it was made unlawful to print or distribute Luther's writings or to teach his doctrines. In the enforcement of this law there were a number of executions, and Lefevre and others, accused of sympathy with Luther's doctrine, were obliged to flee the country. The favorite resort of these religious exiles was Strassburg, already a center of Lutheranism. Despite the persecutions, however, the sentiment in favor of the Reformation continued to grow, and before 1535 isolated groups of evangelicals were to be found in many parts of France, though there was no "reformation-movement," for the evangelicals were not organized, and there was no cohesion among them.

Preparation for the Reformation in France

In 1534 Calvin took the step which ultimately

[1] See above, p. 189 f.
[2] See above, p. 198.

placed him at the head of the French Reformation. Nicholas Cop became rector of the University of Paris in that year, and his inaugural address was a bold statement of evangelical views, containing quotations, not only from Erasmus, but from Luther. Calvin was known to have assisted him in its preparation, if, indeed, he was not its sole author. Both he and Cop were obliged to leave the city to avoid arrest. From this time on Calvin was recognized as a leader, despite his youth. To avoid notoriety and to gain leisure for his studies, he left France and went first to Strassburg, thence to Basel. At Basel he conceived the idea of writing a defence of the persecuted evangelicals of France. This defence took form in the first edition of his Institutes of the Christian Religion. It was finished in March, 1535, when he was just past his twenty-sixth birthday, and published in March, 1536. In its first edition it was a brief hand-book of Christian doctrine, but it grew through subsequent editions, into a great text-book of systematic theology, the most famous, as well as the most influential which the Reformation produced. Even the first edition shows the maturity of its youthful author's mind, and that same sureness of conviction and striking power of clear and logical expression which marked his later work. Calvin's writings never moved men's hearts as did Luther's. They did not glow with the white heat of passion that burns in Luther's greatest works, but they possessed a simplicity and directness of logical statement that appealed powerfully to the minds and consciences of men.

The Institutes

After the publication of the Institutes, Calvin was

for a little while a wanderer, still seeking, as he tells us, for "studious leisure." In the course of these wanderings he happened into Geneva, where he was persuaded to remain. The man who persuaded him was William Farel (1489-1565), another Frenchman, whom religious persecution had driven into exile. Twenty years Calvin's senior, he had been a pupil at Paris of Lefevre d'Etaples. Headstrong and impetuous by nature, he had been outspoken in denouncing the evils in the French church and in demanding reforms. Accused of Lutheranism, he had fled from France in 1521 and gone to Switzerland, where he had attached himself to the Zwinglian movement. After a number of years in Berne, he had come to Geneva, where he had been instrumental in having "the religion of Berne," *i.e.*, Zwinglianism, recognized as the religion of the city. It was just at this time that Calvin made his appearance there, and Farel besought him, "with terrible adjurations," to become his helper in the organizing of the Genevan church.

Farel

For the next eighteen months Calvin worked with Farel for the organization of the Genevan Church. He was the author of the first Genevan Catechism and the first Genevan Confession of Faith. He also drafted a church-law for the city, which was adopted by the city-council in January, 1537. All of these documents show the characteristics of the system that was afterwards to be known as Calvinism. The author's ideas of church-reform were as thoroughly matured as his religious convictions. The attempt to enforce the church-law led to serious troubles and in April, 1538,

Calvin in Geneva

both of the reformers were ordered to leave the city. The immediate occasion of their expulsion was their refusal to administer the Lord's Supper on Easter Day, which they declared to be a "popish holiday." For two and a half years (1538-41) Calvin was in Strassburg, acting as pastor of the French refugees in that city, and occupying himself with literary work. In September, 1541, he returned to Geneva, on the repeated, and very humble, request of the city-council. The terms on which he came back placed him in practical control of the whole religious situation in Geneva. He had no other official position than that of pastor, but as pastor he ruled the city, dictating the laws which the city-council passed, and the methods to be used in their enforcement. Between 1541 and 1555 there were occasional revolts against his authority, but for the last nine years of his life (1555-64) it was unchallenged. No other of the reformers ever succeeded so completely in turning his theories into practice. This was partly due to the limited sphere of his activity; he was free to concentrate his attention upon the local problems of a single city. It was due, in even greater measure, to the systematic character of his thought and the dominant power of his unyielding personality.

Calvin's ideas of church-reform were diametrically opposite to those of Luther. He lacked the historical sense and the deep attachment to the customs and institutions which the centuries had produced that were so strong in the great German. He believed that the only way to purify the Church was to get rid, so far as possible, of everything that lay between the sixteenth

Calvin's Reforms

century and the New Testament and to build up a new organization on the Scriptures. The same lack of conservatism appears in his idea of the relation of Church and State. Luther distinguished between them so sharply, he declared so emphatically that the Church had nothing to do with the State, that in the end he actually placed the Church under state-control. Calvin, on the contrary, thought of the Christian community as a unit, and believed that the Scriptures must furnish the standards by which the State, as well as the Church, must be governed, and his theories resulted in placing the State under church-control. Acting on these theories, he caused the organization of the city of Geneva into a single congregation. The congregation had pastors, who were elected by the other pastors with the approval of the city-council, and whose duty it was to preach, teach and admonish the people. It had twelve elders, elected by the council, whose duty it was to supervise the morals of the city. The pastors and the elders, or presbyters, came together in the consistory, which was the governing-body of the congregation, and which was charged with the administration of discipline. But since the entire city was one congregation, the preachers and the consistory were quite within their rights when they instructed the council what laws it ought to make, and how it ought to enforce them.

The worship of the Genevan congregation was of the utmost simplicity. Not only the saints' days, but all the church festivals, including Christmas and Easter, were abolished. The pictures and images were removed from the churches. The liturgy was reduced to a bare outline for the orderly conduct of public

service, and the music to the singing of psalms. The purpose of these changes was to get back to the simplicity of the apostolic Church.

Calvin's religious ideas were less original than those of any of the other great reformers, but they were more carefully thought through and possessed greater unity. He borrowed from many sources—from Bucer, from Zwingli, from Augustin, and most of all from Luther—but the things which he borrowed became his own possession. He passed them through the crucible of his own thought, and they came out a complete system of doctrine and life. At the root of his religion lay the conviction of the sovereign will of God. The purpose which God's will is always serving is to make known His glory; even the condemnation of sinners must serve that purpose. But God's greatest glory is revealed in showing mercy, and the salvation of undeserving sinners is the triumph of His will. This salvation we have in Christ, and faith in Christ unites us with Him. In this union we have justification, or forgiveness of sins, and sanctification, or the power to lead a holy life. These are gifts of God's grace, not rewards or results of our own works; it is God alone who saves us. But God does not save all men. By an eternal decree of His sovereign will He has determined whom He will save and whom He will condemn to eternal punishment. This doctrine of predestination is the necessary logical conclusion of Calvin's idea of the sovereignty of God.

His Religious Ideas

Our knowledge of God's will comes through the Scriptures, which are in the most literal sense the Word of God, dictated by the Holy Spirit to the men

who wrote it. In it, therefore, we learn the will of God, with the demands which it makes upon us and the hope of salvation which it holds out to those who are predestined to salvation. It is the legal side of the Scriptures which Calvin, true to his early training, was always emphasizing. The sacraments are also means of grace, to the elect—baptism, in which we receive forgiveness of sin; and the Lord's Supper, in which we are brought into communion with the living Christ. To those who have no faith they are empty and meaningless. In the Lord's Supper there is a Real Presence of Christ's body and blood, but not in the sense in which either Luther or the Catholics understood it, for it is believers only who receive it.

The Church, in Calvin's teaching, is the whole number of the elect. Its existence rests upon the divine decree for the salvation of some men. All of these, from the beginning of the world, belong to the Church, which is necessarily invisible. But beside this invisible Church, there is another, visible Church, which contains both believers and unbelievers. This Church, to be the true Church, must have pure doctrine, pure sacraments, and a pure form of government, and the purity of all of them must be decided by their correspondence with the will of God, revealed in Scripture. A pure Church must have four classes of officers—teachers, pastors, elders and deacons—for this was what Calvin found in the New Testament.

Calvin's doctrines were set forth in a whole literature of which he was the author. Luther alone surpassed him in the volume of writings which he produced. In catechisms, formal confessions of faith, repeated editions of the Institutes, each larger than

the last, and in a great mass of exegetical works, they were spread far and wide. In 1550 the printing-press was doing for Calvin and Geneva what it had done in 1520 for Luther and Wittenberg. In 1547 Calvin succeeded in uniting his own movement for church-reform with the older movement in which Zwingli had been the leader. Zwingli had died in 1531 and the leadership of the Zwinglians had passed to Henry Bullinger (1504-75). For a time Bullinger's attitude to Calvin had not been especially cordial, for Calvin was close to Bucer, whose great desire was to effect a union of the Zwinglians and the Lutherans. But in 1549 the Swiss agreed upon a formula of doctrine that was acceptable to both parties. This agreement was set forth in the Consensus of Zürich, and led to an immediate re-opening of the controversy with the Lutherans over the Real Presence in the Lord's Supper, and this, in turn, opened the way for some of those discussions which ultimately produced the Lutheran Formula of Concord.[3] But the significance of the Consensus went still farther. It united the Protestants of Switzerland upon a common doctrinal foundation, which was more Calvinistic than Zwinglian and which gave Calvinism a foothold in Germany. From that point on Lutheranism and Calvinism were competitors, not only in Germany, but in all the lands into which Lutheranism had spread.

His Writings

The "Consensus Tigurinus"

For before the death of its founder, Calvinism was a power in many lands. France was the first country to feel the influence of Geneva, and when the French Protestants formulated their first confession of faith

[3] See above, p. 232 f.

(the Gallican Confession, 1559), it was a thoroughly Calvinistic document. It went into England, where its influence upon Thomas Cranmer was increasingly strong during the reign of Edward VI. The Scotch Reformation, under John Knox (1560) was a thoroughly Calvinistic movement. By 1564 Calvin's doctrines were being taught in the Netherlands, in Poland, and in Hungary and other parts of Eastern Europe. The rapid diffusion of Calvinism was not due to Calvin's writings only, for under his rule Geneva became a city of refuge for persecuted Protestants of many lands. They came from England and Scotland, from France and the Netherlands. Many of them stayed, but others found their way back to their homes to spread there the doctrines they had learned in Geneva. The University of Geneva, founded in 1559, and directed by Theodore Beza (1519-1605) became very shortly a magnet which drew students from many lands and trained them as preachers and teachers of evangelical Christianity.

The Spread of Calvinism

These were the means by which Calvinism spread, but they do not explain its success. That was due to its real value as an interpretation of Christianity. It was an extreme form of anti-Romanism, and that commended it to the anti-Romanists everywhere. It made no compromise with the religion of the Middle Ages, but declared the Roman church to be entirely wrong. It rejected episcopacy as emphatically as transsubstantiation and made no effort to conserve what was good in the medieval system. There lay its fundamental difference from Lutheranism. On the other hand, it

The Value of Calvinism

was just as emphatic in its rejection of fanatical extravagance. It insisted that there is an infallible source of religious truth outside of experience. That source is Holy Scripture, which is to be scientifically and soberly studied. There it differed from the religious radicalism of its time. It was a religion of order, system and sobriety. It bred men who were hard and stern and not a little intolerant, but that very hardness and intolerance were needed in a time when an intolerant Romanism was straining every nerve to win back what it had lost to Protestantism.

John Calvin died in 1564. He was only fifty-six years of age, but into those fifty-six years he had crowded more labor than two ordinary men could do in half again as many years. During the last years of his life it was only his iron will that drove him forward against his physical weakness.

Calvin's Place in History

He was not, like Luther, a great religious genius, an explorer of new spiritual worlds. He was rather the geographer, who follows the explorer, and plots the new discoveries upon his maps. In that process much of the richness and fullness of the greater man's experience is lost, but what remains is clearly and sharply drawn, intelligible to everyone. On the other hand, he was not, like Melanchthon, a mere schoolman, seeking for abstract formulas of truth. He sought for truth, but only that it might be applied effectually to life. In the course of the centuries the harder outlines of his system have tended to soften. His doctrine of predestination, his mechanical view of the verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, his insistence upon the presbyterian form of government as the only one permitted by the New

Testament, his contention that the body of Christ must be locally present in heaven—all these have been modified, but Calvinism as a religious world-view is still a mighty force throughout the world.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Reformation in France and in the Netherlands; the Rise of Anabaptism

The first country outside of Switzerland to feel the reforming influence of Calvin was his own native land. Protestantism was rooted there before his work began.[1] The rigid enforcement of the heresy-laws would have strangled it, but the laws were not evenly enforced. This was due partly to the laxity of local officers; in larger measure it was due to the vacillating policy of the king. Francis I (1515-47) cared little about religion, but he was deeply interested in the Church. He saw it always as a possible help or a possible hindrance to his political ambitions. He feared the pope, who might at any time become, and who frequently was, the ally of his enemy, Charles V. He also saw in the Church a useful means for maintaining his personal power over his own kingdom, and a ready and almost inexhaustible source of revenue. His attitude toward reform varied, therefore, with the political situation. At times he persecuted Protestantism, at other times he used it as a threat against the pope. After 1540, however, he adopted permanently the policy of persecution, and in this policy he was followed by his son, Henry II (1547-59).

Francis

But in spite of persecution, Protestantism continued to spread. The reformation of Geneva gave the movement new impetus. Calvin wrote in French

[1] See above, p. 245 ff.

and Geneva soon became the training-school for French preachers. In 1559 there were forty regular congregations of Protestants in France and more than two thousand "conventicles," or preaching-points. In that year the first Protestant Synod was held in Paris. It adopted a *Confession of Faith,* based on that of Geneva, and a set of *Articles of Discipline* that were, in effect, a constitution for the Protestant Church. In one important respect this church differed from earlier Protestant organizations. It was entirely divorced from the State, not because the Protestants of France believed that it ought to be, but because the State was Catholic and intolerant. Forced out of connection with the State, the Protestant Church of France became democratic and self-governing. The same form of organization was afterwards, for the same reason, adopted in the Netherlands, and in these organizations we have the germ of modern representative government. At about this time the French Protestants received the name of Huguenots. Its origin is quite uncertain,[3] but it was accepted by the Protestants themselves.

Calvinism in France

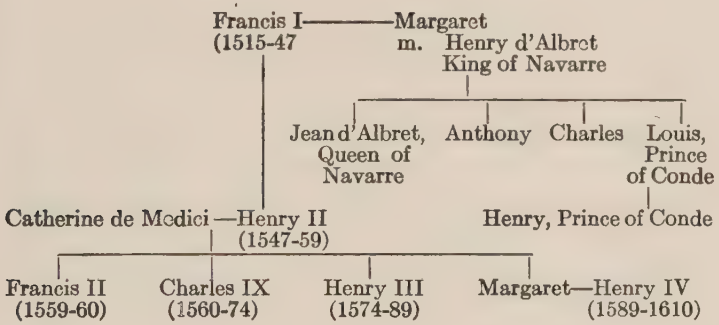
Between 1559 and 1589 the throne of France was occupied successively by three sons of Henry II. Francis II (1559-60) was but sixteen years of age when he received the crown, and Charles IX (1560-74) was only ten. Through all these years the real power lay, not with the kings, but with the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici, and the great French nobles.

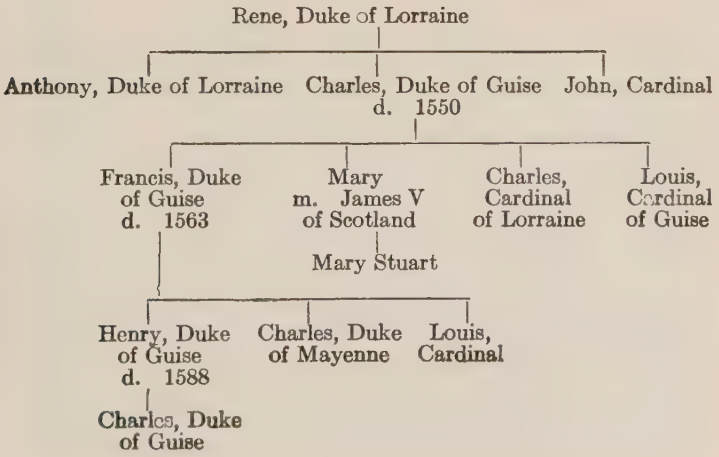
Catherine de Medici

[3] It is commonly explained as a corruption of "Eidgenossen," or "Swiss."

Among the nobles there were two parties. One of them rallied around the house of Guise, the other around the house of Navarre.[3] The queen-mother maintained her place by favoring now one, and now the other side, thus preventing either from becoming supreme. The Guise faction were violent

[3] The following tables will be useful.




Rene, Duke of Lorraine
Anthony, Duke of Lorraine
Charles, Duke of Guise d. 1550
John, Cardinal
Francis, Duke of Guise d. 1563
Mary m. James V of Scotland
Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine
Louis, Cardinal of Guise
Mary Stuart
Henry, Duke of Guise d. 1588
Charles, Duke of Mayenne
Louis, Cardinal
Charles, Duke of Guise

opponents of Protestantism, while the party of Navarre was favorable to the Protestant cause. Thus the Protestant movement in France became involved in the struggle of the parties for political supremacy. The wars of religion, which began in 1562, and continued, with intervals of peace, till 1593, were as much political as religious, though in all of them religion was an issue.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew

In the midst of these wars the massacre of St. Bartholomew dealt a crushing blow to Protestant hopes. In August, 1572, all the notables of France were gathered in Paris to celebrate the marriage of Henry of Navarre to the sister of the king. On the night of the 23d, Admiral Coligny, the real leader of the French Protestants, was murdered by Henry of Guise. A wholesale slaughter of the Protestant leaders followed. Two thousand are said to have been killed in Paris in less than twenty-four hours. The massacre spread into the rest of France and within the next six weeks thousands of Huguenots perished in the provinces. The total number of victims was not less than ten thousand, and probably very much larger. They included most of the real leaders of the Huguenots. But the massacre did not destroy Protestantism. In 1576, Henry of Navarre, who had only escaped death by embracing Catholicism, placed himself definitely at the head of the Huguenot party, and a new series of wars began. They were still in progress when the death of Henry III, in 1589, made Henry of Navarre the next heir to the French crown. His succession was bitterly contested by the Guise party, which had organized, in 1576, as a Catholic League,

but in 1593 Henry again renounced Protestantism and was received back into the Roman Church. This cleared his way to the throne, and by 1595 he was generally recognized as king of France.

In 1598, Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes, which defined the religious status of France. Catholicism was to be the recognized religion of the kingdom. In all places where Catholic worship had been abolished, it was to be restored. On the other hand, no subjects of the king were to be molested or annoyed because they were Protestants. In all places where Protestant worship had been customary in 1597, it was allowed to continue, but elsewhere, and especially in Paris, it was forbidden. The most that the Huguenots had secured by the long wars was a strictly limited toleration. The edict satisfied neither party. The Catholics objected to the toleration, the Huguenots to its limitation, but the edict remained the religious law of France till 1685, though it was often violated by the contending parties.

The Edict of Nantes

While Huguenot and Catholic were fighting their long battle in France, a similar struggle was in progress in the Netherlands. The Netherlands, or Low Countries, comprised seventeen separate political units, located in what are today the kingdoms of Holland and Belgium. They belonged to Charles V, and were one of the most valued possessions of the house of Hapsburg, partly because of their great wealth, partly because of their military importance on the Northern frontier of France.

Even before the days of Luther, the Netherlands

had been the home of heresy. The heresies of the Middle Ages had flourished there, and in the later years of the fifteenth century more than one teacher in the Low Countries had been under suspicion. John Pupper von Goch (d. 1489), John of Wesel (d. 1481) and Wessel Gansefort (d. 1489) were not only critics of the Church, but theologians who, in lectures and in written books, attacked its doctrines. Wessel, especially, anticipated some of the teachings of both Luther and Zwingli. Erasmus, too, was a Hollander and some of his best years were spent in the Southern Netherlands, where he had many sympathizers and admirers.

The Netherlands

When Luther began to write, his books found immediate circulation in the Low Countries. As early as 1518 the Antwerp printers began to publish them, and before 1521 they had issued not less than a dozen of his books and tracts. In 1520 the government of the Netherlands began the suppression of this literature, and in 1521 a special Inquisition was organized to deal with heresy. The first Lutheran martyrs in the world were victims of this Inquisition, when Henry Voes and John Esch were burned at the stake in Antwerp in 1523. Nevertheless the Inquisition failed of its purpose. In the Netherlands, as in France, Protestantism spread in spite of persecution. It was not all of one kind. In part it was Lutheran, in part it was a survival of older heresies, after 1540 it was increasingly Calvinistic in character, in considerable degree it was Anabaptist.

Lutheranism in the Low Countries

Anabaptism gained a foothold in the Netherlands

about 1525. This was a type of Protestantism that differed radically from both Lutheranism and Calvinism. It spread, after 1520, all over the Continent and even reached across into England. Its origin has never been adequately explained, for it seems to have arisen almost simultaneously in many widely separated places. The Anabaptists had no general organization. They formed larger or smaller groups in many places, but each was independent of the rest. The one thing that all of these groups had in common was their rejection of infant-baptism[4] and their low estimate of the importance of the Eucharist. In other respects they differed widely from one another. Their doctrines were spread by wandering preachers, most of whom were at every moment in peril of their lives. For no other religious party was so universally persecuted in the sixteenth century. They had no political defenders, for their members were drawn almost exclusively from the peasant and artisan classes, the classes that had no voice in government. Their doctrines and practices were abhorred by the great Reformers quite as cordially as by the Roman Church. They were put to death literally by the thousands, nowhere in greater numbers than in the Netherlands.

The Anabaptists

Generally speaking, the Anabaptist groups were of two types—the quietists and the revolutionaries. The quietists did not aim at the formation of any great church or the organization of any great movement. Their one desire was to be allowed to hold in peace

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[4] The practice of baptism by immersion came later. It first appeared in Holland in the seventeenth century.

the doctrines which they believed, and to spread them by peaceful means. In their own circles they attempted to re-establish the simple community-life of the early Christian congregations. To this class belong such teachers as Balthasar Hubmaier, executed at Vienna in 1528, and the North German mystic Caspar Schwenkfeld (1484-1564).

The revolutionaries, on the other hand, were fanatics. In common with many others of their time, they looked for the speedy second coming of Christ.[5] Many of them believed that they had received special revelations from the Lord, and these revelations frequently bade them overthrow the existing order of society and introduce, by force if necessary, the kingdom of God on earth. Such a teacher was Thomas Münzer, whose ideas were embraced by many of the rebellious German peasants in 1525,[6] and who was executed for his part in the uprising. Another was Melchior Hofmann, who died in prison at Strassburg in 1543. The Melchiorites, as his followers were known, had many converts in Holland, and in 1535 a group of them, headed by a certain Jan Mattys, a Haarlem baker who claimed to be a prophet, actually gained control of the city of Münster, in Westphalia, overthrew the city-government, and proceeded, amid the wildest excesses, to set up there the kingdom of God on earth. It was the extravagances of the revolutionaries which did more than anything else to bring the whole Anabaptist movement into ill-repute.

The most influential of all the Anabaptist teachers,

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[5] Luther shared this expectation.
[6] See above, p. 214 f.

after 1525, was Menno Simon (1492-1559). Originally a priest, he was converted to Anabaptist opinions in 1536. His home was in Frisia, in the Northern Netherlands, but he became a wandering preacher, moving from place to place, through Holland, Frisia and Northwestern Germany, preaching Anabaptist doctrines and organizing congregations. He was a teacher of the quietistic type. His followers refused to take any oaths and to bear arms and their communities exercised the strictest supervision over the lives of their members. Their aim was to make every congregation a true communion of saints. It was the spirit of Menno Simon that ultimately gave to Dutch and Low German Anabaptism its prevailing tone, and it was Dutch Anabaptism that spread into England after 1625, where it formed close connections with English Independency. The Anabaptists of Holland were thus the historical forerunners of the Baptist churches of England and America.

Menno Simon

Soon after 1540 the influence of Calvin began to make itself felt in the Southern Netherlands. It was first exerted in the French-speaking lands. By 1550 the lines of connection between Flanders and Geneva had been thoroughly established, and Calvinism had begun to spread into the North. The history of the movement cannot be traced with anything like completeness, for secrecy was entirely necessary to success because of persecution, but in 1559 there were enough Calvinistic congregations to hold a synod and adopt a creed. In 1563 this creed was revised, and became

Calvinism in the Netherlands

the *Belgic Confession,* which was finally the official creed of the Dutch Calvinists.[1]

Between 1560 and 1570 the Reformation in the Low Countries passed into the stage of revolution. The revolt of the Netherlands, which severed the northern provinces from Spanish rule and laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic, was a religious, as well as a political movement. It began with a series of local uprisings provoked by Spanish oppression. Philip II of Spain had succeeded to the throne of Charles V, and he endeavored to reorganize the government of the Netherlands in such a way as to deprive them of all local political rights and make them a mere dependency of the Spanish crown. In 1567 he sent the Duke of Alva into the Low Countries to perform two tasks—enforce the Spanish rule and wipe out Protestantism. Alva's six years of government were a reign of terror. The Protestants of the Netherlands were persecuted more severely than were the early Christians by the Roman Empire. Alva is said to have boasted that he had put more than eighteen thousand to death, though this may be a boaster's exaggeration, and in 1572 it was estimated that more than sixty thousand Netherlanders were in exile. These measures were accompanied by oppressive taxation of the wealthy cities which destroyed them economically.

The Revolt

In 1572 the great revolt began, and in the next year William the Silent, Prince of Orange, put himself at its head. His chief counsellor was Philip van Marnix

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[1] It is still the official creed of the Dutch Reformed Church in America.

(1538-98), a Flemish gentleman who had been educated at Geneva, and who was the real genius of the Dutch Reformation, theologian, poet, organizer, statesman and soldier. Before the revolt he had already organized most of the Protestants of Holland and Zealand into a Calvinistic church, and the success of the revolution was accompanied by the establishment of Calvinism as the state-religion of the new Netherlands. The war lasted until 1609, though Spain did not recognize the independence of the Netherlands till 1648. William of Orange was assassinated in 1584, and his place of leadership was taken by Jan van Oldenbarneveldt. The crisis of the struggle came in 1588, when the destruction of the Great Armada ended the Spanish domination of the seas. The result of the revolt was to divide the Netherlands into two sections of about the same extent. The Southern portion, out of which the kingdom of Belgium was afterwards to grow, remained subject to Spain and Catholic in religion; the Northern portion became the United Netherlands. There the state-religion was Calvinism, but with extensive toleration of other forms of Protestantism, especially of Lutherans and Anabaptists.

William of Orange

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Reformation in England and Scotland to 1603

The Reformation in England ran a course that differed in many ways from that which it took in other lands. In its beginnings it was a political as much as a religious movement. The separation of the English Church from Rome preceded, instead of following, the general acceptance of Protestant doctrines.

Henry VIII ruled England from 1509 to 1547. He was a man of strong and despotic will. Few kings of modern times have ever ruled their people more completely. Throughout his reign he had the support of the rising middle class in the English towns, which gave him complete control over the Parliament, and the Parliament became in fact a body that existed chiefly to register the royal will. His great prime minister was Thomas Wolsey, Archbishop of York and Cardinal. It was Wolsey's political and diplomatic skill which raised the king to his place of power.

Henry VIII 1509-47

Henry was a man of learning and a devoted son of the Church of Rome. He was one of the few kings of his day who had been educated in theology. When the Lutheran movement began in Germany, he was both amazed and angry. In 1521 he published a *Defence of the Seven Sacraments,* in reply to Luther's *Babylonian Captivity of the Church,* and received from the pope the title, "Defender of the Faith." Of

heresy in his own land Henry was utterly intolerant. The spread of Wiclifism[1] had made heresy a capital offence in England, and under Henry VIII heresy-trials were not uncommon. When William Tyndale completed his New Testament in 1526, he was unable to get it published in England, and the copies that did come over from the Continent were confiscated and burned. Nevertheless Lutheran books and Lutheran doctrines did creep into England. At Oxford and Cambridge Universities they aroused the deepest interest and little groups of students were formed to study them in secret. The way for these doctrines had been prepared by the scholars who had taught the necessity of reformation by a return to the Bible, especially by Colet and Erasmus.[2] The movement was stimulated, too, by the recognition of the grave abuses in the Church's life, which were identical with those that existed in other lands.

After 1527 the king's attitude toward the pope began to change. Henry VIII desired to divorce his queen. While still a very young man he had married Catherine of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella and aunt of Charles V. She had previously gone through a marriage ceremony with Henry's older brother, a sickly youth, who did not live to inherit the crown. The king gave two reasons for desiring a divorce. The first was his conviction that Catherine would not bear him a son to succeed him. There was only one living child, the Princess Mary, and no woman had ever sat upon the English throne. The second reason was one of con-

The Divorce

[1] See above, p. 156 f.
[2] See above, p. 189 f.

science. He declared that he was convinced that his marriage to his brother's widow had been a sin. Upon the latter ground he asked the pope to declare the marriage null and void. A third reason, which the king did not allege, was his infatuation with Anne Boleyn, a lady of the court.

The king's request placed Pope Clement VII in a serious predicament. He could not refuse it without offending the king of England; he could not grant it without offending just as deeply the more powerful king of Spain and emperor of Germany, who was the queen's nephew. He endeavored, therefore, to put off the decision as long as possible, and for five years the case dragged on. To force a decision in his favor, the king began to check the exercise of papal power in England. Old laws forbidding appeals to Rome were brought out and enforced. In 1529 Cardinal Wolsey was dismissed from office. His successor, Sir Thomas More, was opposed to the divorce, and lasted less than three years. In 1532 Thomas Cromwell became prime minister and Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556) archbishop of Canterbury. Cranmer at once proceeded to do the thing for which he was appointed.

Separation from Rome

In March, 1533, he declared the king's marriage to Catherine unlawful, and Anne Boleyn, whom the king had married without awaiting the decree, the lawful queen of England. This was an open challenge which the pope could not disregard, and in 1534 the king was excommunicated. Henry's reply was an act of Parliament, which recognized Anne Boleyn as queen, and declared that the king was "the only supreme head on earth of

the Church in England." Thus the Church in England was definitely severed from Rome.

Acting upon the authority thus conferred by his Parliament, Henry at once set Thomas Cromwell to work "reforming" the Church. It was no part of his purpose to introduce Protestant doctrine or practice. He desired to maintain the whole theology of the Middle Ages. The reforms which he intended had to do with the removal of abuses and the purification of the lives of the clergy. But the task of reforming the Church and keeping Protestantism out at the same time was one that was too heavy for the king's agents. Cranmer had lived in Germany and was deeply saturated with Lutheran teaching. Many of the king's strongest supporters were men who had learned to know the teachings of the Continental reformers. Besides, Henry needed political support in case the pope should succeed in getting the kings of France and Spain to move against him. There was but one place where this support could be sought and that was among the Lutheran princes of Germany, and they refused to form any alliance with the king except upon the basis of agreements in Lutheran doctrine. For a series of years, then, there were negotiations back and forth, and several times it appeared that the Augsburg Confession, with slight modifications, would become the creed of the Church of England. In 1539, however, this possibility was rudely dismissed. By the Six Articles the king forbade anyone to hold or teach Protestant doctrine in England, and such was his power over the people that he was able to prevent any public growth of Protestantism during the rest

The "Reformation"

of his reign. The thing that the king was aiming at was the establishment in England of a national church, Roman in doctrine except for the supremacy of the pope, and strictly under royal control. For a little while it seemed that he had reached this aim, but beneath the surface of English life the two forces of Romanism and of Protestantism were in conflict.

When Henry died in 1547 and his ten-year-old son succeeded him, the Protestant party speedily gained the upper hand. Cranmer was still archbishop of Canterbury, and his convictions were still Lutheran, though he had learned to know Calvin's teachings and was leaning toward them. In the six years (1547-53) that Edward VI was nominally king, the English Reformation created its great literary monuments. They came chiefly from the pen of Cranmer, though others were the authors of some parts of them. They are the *First Prayer Book* (1549) and the *Second Prayer Book* (1553) *of Edward VI* and the *Forty-two Articles* (1553). The two prayer-books became the basis of the English Book of Common Prayer, and the articles, reduced to thirty-nine and several times revised, became in the end the official creed of the Church of England. All of these documents were based upon Lutheran sources, the prayer-books on the German liturgies, the articles on the Augsburg Confession, but all of them contain Calvinistic elements, especially, in their teaching concerning the Lord's Supper.

Edward VI

With the public formulas of the English Church taking such a pronouncedly Protestant character, it is only to be expected that men of Protestant conviction should have attained positions of prominence in the

Church. Cranmer endeavored to secure Protestant leaders from the Continent. Efforts were made to get Melanchthon from Wittenberg and Calvin from Geneva. Martin Bucer was actually secured and finished his career, begun at Strassburg, as professor in the University of Cambridge. Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, two of the most outspoken Protestants in England were appointed to bishoprics. In 1553 England was passing over very rapidly to the ranks of the Protestant lands.

But the whole situation was changed by the death of Edward VI. The Catholic party had been quietly gathering its strength for just this event, and the rapid progress of Protestantism had alienated even some of those who had supported Henry's idea of a national Catholic church. This party put Mary, daughter of Henry's first wife, upon the throne. In Protestant history she is known as "Bloody Mary." A devout Catholic, detesting Protestantism in all its forms, she was determined to return her country to the fold of Rome. Cranmer was imprisoned, deposed, and finally put to death. Ridley and Latimer met the same fate. All the legislation of Henry's and of Edward's reign which separated the Church of England from that of Rome was repealed. The bishops and other clergy who refused to acquiesce in a return to the old order of things were deprived of office and many of them were put to death. The number of such executions is estimated at about three hundred. A considerable number of the Protestants left England and took refuge on the Continent. The queen's marriage to Philip II of Spain seemed to guarantee that England

Queen Mary 1553-58

would remain a Catholic land. But the marriage was childless, and when Mary died in 1558 she was succeeded by her half-sister, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn.

It was generaly assumed that Elizabeth's accession would overthrow Catholicism in England. William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burleigh, who became her chief minister and who was the most important single personality in England for the next forty years, was a Protestant at heart, as was Matthew Parker, who was her first ecclesiastical adviser and her first archbishop of Canterbury. Elizabeth's first Parliament met in 1559, with the religious question as the center of interest. From the very beginning the policy that the queen proposed to follow was made clear. She aimed at a new separation of the English Church from Rome, and the establishment of a national church, under the direct control of the crown. The religious laws of Mary's reign were repealed, and England received new Acts of Supremacy and of Uniformity. In these new acts and in the manner of their enforcement the whole plan was made clear. The Church of England was to be returned to the state which it had had in the reign of Edward VI. Romanism was outlawed. The queen could not forget that to the Catholic party she must appear as an illegitimate child, for that party had never recognized Henry's marriage to her mother as valid. The acceptance of the royal supremacy over the Church became, therefore, a test of loyalty. Refusal to take the oath to the queen as "supreme governor" of the Church in England was made a capital offence. Of the seventeen bishops who held over

Queen Elizabeth 1558-1603

from Mary's reign only two were willing to take the required oath; the rest were deprived. The proportion of other clergy that refused was far smaller, for in the first six years of Elizabeth only four hundred of them were put out of office, less than five per cent of the whole number. After 1570 the laws against the Catholics were made still more severe. In that year Pope Pius V published a bull, in which he declared the queen illegitimate, a usurper and a heretic. It had no other effect in England than to sharpen the enforcement of the laws against Romanism and produce even stricter legislation.

At no time while Elizabeth lived was there any serious danger that the Church in England would go back to Rome. More than once, indeed, plots were discovered which, if successful, would have deprived her of the crown. Most of these plots centered around Mary, Queen of Scots. She was the daughter of Elizabeth's cousin, James VI, of Scotland, and was her next of kin. She was a Catholic, and her succession to the English crown might have restored Catholicism. Driven out of Scotland in 1567, she took refuge in England, where she was held in mild imprisonment for nineteen years, before she was put to death, in 1586, as the result of a final plot against Elizabeth.

Mary Queen of Scots

Another constant threat was that of Spain. Philip II had designs on England. It was his hope to conquer it and return it to the Church of Rome. In these designs he counted heavily upon the English Catholics. In 1588 he made his great attempt, but when the Great Armada was

The Armada

driven off by the English ships the Spanish danger ceased to threaten.

Elizabeth's policy, however, went beyond the separation of the English Church from Rome. She aimed to set the national Church of England upon a Protestant basis. The Act of Uniformity restored the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI, with only a few revisions, and its use was made compulsory. In 1563 the Forty-two Articles of 1553 were revised, reduced to thirty-nine, and made the doctrinal standard of the Church. But among the English Protestants the royal policy did not meet with entire approval. Many of them thought that her reforms did not go far enough. Calvinistic ideas of reform were making rapid headway all over Europe, replacing in many lands the more conservative Lutheran ideas which had guided Cranmer. In England this influence was very strong. It came partly from the returned exiles who, during the reign of Mary, had learned to know Continental Protestantism at first hand, partly from Scotland, which became a Protestant kingdom in 1560.

The Church of England—Protestant

The leader and spokesman of the Scottish Reformation was John Knox (1505-72). There had been Protestant preaching in Scotland before his time. In 1528 Patrick Hamilton was burned at the stake for teaching Lutheran doctrines; in 1546, Protestantism had a second martyr in George Wishart. Three months after Wishart's death, Cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, was assassinated. This was an act of rebellion against the Roman Church in Scotland. The

The Reformation in Scotland

rebels took possession of the city of St. Andrews and held it for some months until it was finally captured by a French fleet. The leaders of the rebellion were taken to France to be punished there. Among them was Knox, who had been their preacher.

Of the Scotch Reformer's life before this time, we have little information. Even the date of his birth (1505 or 1515) is uncertain. He had almost certainly been educated for the priesthood, and he had been the friend and disciple of Wishart. Knox was sentenced to the galleys in 1546, but in 1549 he was preaching in England, where he became a chaplain of Edward VI and was offered a bishopric, which he declined. In 1554 he was one of the many refugees who fled from England to the Continent, when Mary became queen. He lived for a time in Frankfurt on the Main, then in Geneva, where he imbibed the full spirit of the Calvinistic reformation. Meanwhile the Scottish Revolution was in preparation. Mary Stuart (b. 1542) was nominally queen, but she was living in France, betrothed to the son of Henry II, and after 1554 Scotland was ruled by her mother, Mary of Lorraine. She was a Frenchwoman, a member of the house of Guise, and her government was supported by troops sent over from France. It was opposition to France and opposition to the Roman Church which combined to produce the revolution.

John Knox

In 1557 the Scottish nobles formed a league, pledging themselves "to apply their whole power to establish the blessed Word of God and His congregation," and in 1559 they recalled Knox to Scotland. He became at once the moving spirit in the expulsion of the French and the reformation of the Church. With the

aid of troops and ships from England, the French were driven out. Mary of Lorraine died while the fighting was in progress, and in 1560, Mary Stuart, eighteen years of age, and already the widow of Francis II of France, came back to assume the government of her own kingdom. But she found it a Protestant land. In August, 1560, the Scottish Parliament adopted a *Confession of Faith* and a *Book of Discipline*. Both were the work of Knox, and both were based on Genevan models. In 1564 the Scottish Church received, again from Knox, a liturgy (*The Book of Common Order*) embodying the worship of Geneva. Thus Scotland became a Calvinistic land. Nowhere in Europe, save in Geneva itself, were Calvin's principles more rigorously applied to the doctrine and the practice of the Church. The expulsion of Mary Stuart, in 1567, and the elevation of her infant son, James VI, were due in part at least, to the fact that Mary remained a Catholic. While Knox lived he was the prophet of the Scottish Church, and after his death, in 1572, his work was taken up and carried forward in the same spirit by Andrew Melville (1545-1622).

Religious Revolution

The thorough-going Calvinism of the Northern kingdom naturally strengthened the Calvinistic tendency in England, and there gradually arose within the English Church a party which aimed to Calvinize it completely. The Puritans, as this party came to be known, desired to do four things—substitute a presbyterian for the episcopal form of government; break the power of the crown over the Church; remove from the worship of

Puritanism

the Church all relics of Roman practice; and revise the standards of doctrines so as to bring them into harmony with the Calvinistic confessions of Scotland and the Continent. The members of this party remained within the Church of England, conforming to the law when forced to do so, but working from within for the accomplishment of their purposes. About 1570 Thomas Cartwright (1535-1603) became their chief spokesman. With Walter Travers, he was joint-author of the *Book of Discipline,* which declared the Puritan platform.

Around 1580 a new religious party began to make its presence known. In that year Robert Browne organized, at Norwich, the first congregation of English Independents. A few years later John Greenwood and Henry Barrowe formulated the theory of Independency. They were Calvinists in doctrine, but believed that the congregation is the true unit of church government. They rejected both presbyterianism and episcopacy, declaring that every congregation of Christians has the right and the duty to organize itself upon New Testament models. This was the beginning of Congregationalism in England.

Independency

During the last twenty years of Elizabeth's reign, the authorities of Church and State had almost as much trouble with the Puritans and Independents as with the Catholics. The laws already on the statute-books were enforced against all three parties, new statutes were passed by Parliament, and a new church court—the Court of High Commission—was set up to deal with violations of the law. Fines and imprisonment were imposed upon all classes of dissenters, and

there were occasional executions. Among the martyrs were Greenwood and Barrowe, both of whom were put to death in 1593, for denying the queen's supremacy over the Church.

The Church of England, therefore, under Elizabeth, was definitely committed to the "middle way." It was to be catholic in practice, but not Roman; episcopal in government, but subject to the crown; Protestant in doctrine, but neither altogether Lutheran nor wholly Calvinistic. Richard Hooker's *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity,* published 1594-97, is the classical defence of the state-church, as it developed in the English Reformation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The Counter-reformation

By the year 1572 Protestantism had reached its high-water mark. It was thoroughly established in Sweden, Norway, Denmark, England and Scotland. In all of these countries Catholicism was against the law. The same thing was true for most of Switzerland and for two-thirds of Germany. It had a firm foothold in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland. In the Northern Netherlands it was fighting a winning battle, and in the Southern Netherlands and France it was still struggling for existence, though against heavy odds. But after 1572 the Reformation made no new conquests. No new country became Protestant; on the contrary, the Church of Rome, after a short time in which it merely held its own, began to win back parts of Europe which it had lost. In 1648 the Roman Church was stronger than it had been in 1575.

The explanation of this lies in the movement that is known as the Counter-reformation. To meet the threat of Protestantism the papal church was forced to do three things —abolish the moral abuses, which had given the reformers their opportunity; reorganize its machinery to meet the new situation; and ally itself with the national forces, which had been working against it. These three things the Roman Church succeeded in doing between 1545 and 1620.

The Aims of the Counter-reformation

The counter-reformation began with the effort of the Roman Church to reform itself. In 1523 Pope Hadrian VI had acknowledged that the Church was in need of a thorough reformation, which would begin at Rome, and declared that he was about to undertake it, but he did not live to begin the task, and his successor, Clement VII (1523-1534), was elected partly, at least, because he was opposed to any such policy. During his ten years on the papal throne, however, two different influences were working in the direction of a Catholic reformation—Charles V was pressing insistently for a general council, and a group of influential churchmen, mostly Italians, were seeking to purify the lives of the clergy by the organization of new societies of priests. In 1536 these two lines of influence came very near to meeting.

The Cardinals' Reformation

The call for the council had actually gone out, though the time of its meeting was afterwards postponed, and Pope Pius III (1534-49), remembering the experience which the papacy had had with the fifteenth century councils,[1] determined that before the council met the church at Rome must try to reform itself. With this end in view, he appointed to the college of cardinals a number of the churchmen who were known to be seriously interested in reform, including such men as Gaspar Contarini, Jacob Sadoleto, John Peter Caraffa, afterwards Pope Pius IV, and Reginald Pole, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury under Queen Mary. A commission of cardinals was then appointed to investigate the state of the Church and recommend reforms. Their report was published in 1538 and an-

[1] See above, p. 160 f.

other commission was appointed to introduce the reforms recommended. This commission never acted, but the effect of the whole incident was to bring the "reformers" into power at Rome; the next three popes were chosen from their number.

Meanwhile the pressure for a council was growing stronger, and in 1545 it came together, on the pope's call, at Trent. It lasted from 1545 to 1563. Theoretically it was one council covering all those years; in reality there were three separate councils, the first 1545-47, the second 1551-52, the third 1562-63. At every stage of its deliberations the pope was in complete control of the situation, and all of its decisions were such as the papacy approved. It had three purposes, defined in the papal bull which called it together. They were the definition of Catholic doctrine, the reformation of the life of the Church, and the extirpation of heresy. The first purpose was thoroughly accomplished and the second partly. The doctrinal decisions of the council were little more than a repetition, in new forms, of the doctrines which the Church had held in the Middle Ages and against which the Protestant reformers had revolted. They were formulated with the teachings of Luther and Calvin in mind and were stated in such a way as to repudiate entirely the view of Christianity which the reformers had proclaimed. The reform-decrees, too, dealt with matters which Protestantism had made important. They provided for more conscientious and more constant pastoral care of the laity, for more frequent preaching in all the churches, for more careful training of the clergy, in seminaries to be established

The Council of Trent 1545-63

in all the bishoprics. They also provided for more constant oversight by the bishops over the clergy in their dioceses. A few of the decrees dealt with the reformation of papal practices, but on this point the council was not a unit. The old question of whether the pope is to be supreme over the Church or whether the bishops, assembled in a council, can give laws to the papacy, was a stumbling-block. The council went around it, without rendering a decision, but its actions implied that the pope must be supreme.[2]

The decrees of Trent were the answer of the Roman Church to Protestantism. They closed the door against all forms of Protestantism. But the council could do nothing more than pass resolutions; the work of making these resolutions effective devolved upon the administrative organization of the Church.

When the council adjourned it left the papacy with certain definite tasks that were performed in the next thirty years. It had to provide for a more careful supervision of the books which Catholics might read, to prepare an official statement of the faith approved at Trent,[3] to issue a popular summary of that faith in the form of a catechism,[4] to revise the liturgy and the breviary, and to arrange for a new edition of the Latin Bible,[5] which the council had declared the official text of the Church.

During the years that the council was meeting, the papal church had acquired a new, and most efficient,

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[2] It was not till 1870 that the dogma of papal infallibility brought to full expression the view of the papacy, implied in the decrees of Trent.

[3] *Professio fidei Tridentini* (1564).

[4] *Catechismus Romanus* (1566).

[5] The Sixtine edition of the Vulgate (1590).

instrument for the carrying out of its purposes. In 1540 Pope Pius III had approved the organization of the Society of Jesus, and before 1562 that organization had become so strong that its influence in the last sessions of the council was almost irresistible. The Society of Jesus was an organization of priests. It was founded by Ignatius Loyola (1493-1556). He was a Spanish nobleman, who had been a soldier, and was converted to the religious life in 1522, while recovering from wounds received in battle. At the age of thirty-three he decided to enter upon the long course of preparation for the priesthood, and studied at two universities in Spain, then at Paris, where he was a contemporary of John Calvin. At Paris he gathered around him a little group of younger students, and in 1534 seven of them bound themselves by an oath to dedicate their lives to missionary work among the Mohammedans. Four years later this program was exchanged for another. The way to the Orient was temporarily barred, and Loyola decided to change his missionary-order into an order of parish-priests who should be active in all forms of missionary work, both at home and abroad.

Ignatius Loyola

As the Society took form, its program became fourfold. The Jesuits were to be active as teachers, preachers, confessors and directors of works of mercy. In all of these fields they developed a remarkable activity. This was partly because they were picked men. Not every applicant was admitted, but only those who, through a long period of preparation could show that he was really fitted for the work which the Society had in hand. These carefully chosen men

The Society of Jesus

were bound together in a compact organization, taking vows of absolute obedience to their superiors. The whole organization centered in one man, the General, whose residence was at Rome. Before 1556 the order numbered more than a thousand members, working in most of the lands of Europe, and in Japan, Mexico and Brazil. For the original missionary project had not been given up. In 1541 Francis Xavier sailed from Lisbon to begin that work in the Far East which made him the pioneer of modern foreign missions, and Jesuit missionaries went with the Spanish conquerors to Mexico and South America.

The Jesuits were everywhere the implacable foes of Protestantism. To them Luther and Calvin seemed nothing more than emissaries of Satan whose influence must be destroyed at any cost and by any means, however unscrupulous. They used the pulpit and the confessional to spread this conviction. They secured for themselves influential positions at the courts of kings and princes and used these positions to plot the destruction of heresy. But their greatest and most lasting influence was exerted through the schools. Jesuit teachers were always to be had, and wherever they were admitted they reorganized the system of instruction. They found a place in the schools for the new studies which the Renaissance had brought into popularity, while at the same time they organized all of them around the religious instruction, which was directed especially against Protestant teaching.

Jesuit Activities

While the Council of Trent was rewriting the dogma of the Church and the Society of Jesus was organizing an aggressive campaign against Protestantism

throughout Europe, the Inquisition was busily at work in Italy and Spain. The Spanish Inquisition and the Roman Inquisition were separate institutions. The former had existed before the Reformation. Established in Castile in 1480, it was gradually extended until it covered all the Spanish possessions. Under Charles V and Philip II it was a kind of moral police-court, working in secret and making its own laws. Its sentences were executed by the secular government, which found it most useful for the suppression of other things than heresy. It was largely because of the existence of this institution that the Reformation never got any foothold in Spain.[6] The Roman Inquisition was set up in 1542. It was an attempt to re-establish the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. The attempt was successful only in Italy. In the cities, especially Naples, Ferrara and Venice, Luther's doctrines had attracted much attention and found many sympathizers. There was a time, indeed, when it seemed that Protestantism might find one of its most important centers in the pope's own country. This danger was partially averted by the beginning of the movement for reform within the Church, which opened a way for serious and thoughtful men to become reformers without becoming heretics. The Inquisition did the rest. The little groups of Protestant-sympathizers were broken up; some of their members were put to death, others thrown into prison; still others[7] took refuge in Protestant countries, while the

The Inquisition in Spain and Italy

[6] Between 1480 and 1540, the Spanish Inquisition was responsible for the execution of more than 20,000 persons. See P. Smith, *Age of the Reformation* (1921), p. 415.

[7] Such men as Peter Martyr Vermigli and Bernardino

rest either kept silence or made their peace with the Church.

It may well be doubted whether the Inquisition would have been successful in preventing a Protestant movement in Italy, had not the way been opened, at the same time, for the inner reformation of the papal church. The reformers within the papal church poured their energy into the reforms of Trent. The spirit of medieval Catholicism revived in them. New religious societies sprang into life in Italy and Spain; new orders of monks and nuns arose and the older orders were, in part, reformed[8]; a whole array of new saints[9] was added to the Roman calendar. A new theological literature came into existence. Cæsar Baronius (d. 1609) compiled his *Ecclesiastical Annals,* the first modern Catholic work in church history, and Robert Bellarmin (1562-1621) and Francis Suarez became the authors of new systems of Catholic theology, based upon the decrees of Trent.

The Revival of Medieval Piety

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, therefore, the papal church was no longer on the defensive. It had drawn its forces together and begun an on-

Ochino, both of whom went to Switzerland. Vermigli ended his life as professor at Cambridge.

[8] The more important new orders were the Capuchins (at first a branch of the Franciscans; after 1619 a separate order) and the Ursulines (founded 1538 as a society of religious women; after 1612 an independent order of nuns). An important new branch of the Benedictines, especially distinguished for its devotion to scholarship, was the French Congregation of St. Maur (1618).

[9] Beside the Jesuit saints (Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier), the most noteworthy were Philip Neri (1515-95), founder of the Brotherhood of the Oratory, Charles Borromeo (1538-84), archbishop of Milan, and Francis de Sales, the Swiss mystic.

slaught upon Protestantism, not only in countries like France and the Netherlands, but in England and Germany, which it was seeking to bring back to Rome. Meanwhile it was finding new mission-fields in the colonies which France and Spain were founding beyond the Western seas.

CHAPTER XXV.

The Era of the Thirty Years' War and the English Revolution (1580-1689)

The ultimate result of the Counter-reformation was to divide all Europe into two great religious groups —Catholic and Protestant. These groups, however, were not living side by side, but were divided from one another by political lines. Europe had its nations that were Catholic and its nations that were Protestant. Lands like Germany, which contained many political divisions, might be partly Catholic and partly Protestant, but the same political division had not two religions.

This alignment was not complete until the seventeenth century was drawing to a close. The greater part of that century was a time of struggle. There was scarcely a year in which there was not a war somewhere in Europe, and deep down among the causes of almost all these wars was the religious question, the antagonism of Catholic to Protestant, or the hostility of one type of Protestantism to another. The religious issue, to be sure, was seldom clean-cut and simple. Almost always it was complicated by deep-rooted political or social rivalries. Catholic France and Catholic Spain were contending bitterly for supremacy in Europe. Their rivalry was too intense to allow them to unite for the destruction of Protes-

The Age of Struggle

tantism. The French minister Richelieu, a cardinal of the Church, was aiding the Lutheran Swedes against the Catholic Hapsburgs, while he was persecuting the Huguenots in France. The Protestants, too, were disunited. On the Continent, Lutheran and Calvinist were striving for the mastery. The weapons of their warfare were seldom fire and sword, but the Lutheran duke of Saxony was content to sit at home and allow the Hapsburgs to destroy the Reformed Church of Bohemia. In England and Scotland, episcopacy and presbyterianism were fighting one another, but their struggle was, in some degree at least, a battle between different classes of society. Into the fabric of the Church's history the seventeenth century wove many different threads.

In the later years of the sixteenth century, Lutheranism had ceased to spread. The Lutherans, established by law in many of the states of Germany and in the Scandinavian kingdoms, were content to hold what they had won. To do this they had to contend against the influence of Calvinism. The Zwinglians and the Calvinists had joined forces and from their centers in Switzerland and the Rhinelands, they were seeking to win the Lutheran states for Calvinistic doctrine.[1] To them the Lutheran Reformation seemed too conservative. They believed that the Lutherans had retained too much of their medieval inheritance, both in doctrine and in practice. Therefore they sought to complete the Lutheran movement by carrying it to their own conclusions. There were two ways in which they tried to supplant Lutheranism

Lutheranism versus Calvinism

[1] See above, p. 233.

—by securing the appointment of Calvinistic professors of theology in Lutheran universities, and by the conversion of Lutheran rulers to their views.

On the Eastern frontiers of Lutheranism—in Poland, in Hungary and in Bohemia—they met with a good measure of success. In Germany, their one great triumph was in the Palatinate, which became a Reformed state, with Heidelberg as its religious center. Zacharias Ursinus (1534-83) and Caspar Olevianus (1536-87) were the leaders there, and the *Heidelberg Catechism,* published by them in 1563, became the hand-book of Reformed doctrine for all the Calvinistic groups in Germany and its neighboring lands. But although they failed to win the other German states, their efforts to do so led to bitter and almost continuous controversies with the Lutherans.

While these controversies were at their height, both Lutherans and Reformed were forced to reckon with the Counter-reformation. It was about 1570 that this movement gathered headway in German lands. The German Catholics, princes and bishops alike, had been weary of the long struggle that had ended in 1555, and had been willing, for the time at least, to accept the compromise made by the Peace of Augsburg.[2] The chief instrument for the reawakening of Catholic zeal was the Society of Jesus. The first Jesuit strongholds in Germany were the universities of Cologne, Ingolstadt and Vienna. From these places their work was gradually extended to other universities and to the secondary schools. It was the

The Counter-reformation in Germany

[2] See above, p. 231.

generation which the Jesuit teachers trained that took up the work of the Counter-reformation.

The dukes of Bavaria were the first German princes to press this work. By reforming the Bavarian church in a Jesuit sense, they gained its support for their political purposes, which were to crush out the small nobility and make themselves the autocrats of their own duchy. As the old bishops died they were replaced by men devoted to the reforms of Trent. The worship of the Church was purified and enriched, the clergy were brought under stricter discipline, the schools were reformed. The machinery of the Church began to work more smoothly than before the Reformation. The value which these reforms had for the rulers was very soon apparent, and other princes began to follow the Bavarian example. That meant immediate trouble for the Protestants, both Lutherans and Calvinists, who lived in these lands. The Peace of Augsburg allowed the rulers to determine the religion of their subjects, and Protestants had no legal right to be in the territories of a Catholic prince.

The persecution of Protestant minorities in Catholic lands did not at once affect the people of the Lutheran or Reformed states. But things became more serious when the Hapsburg princes took up the Bavarian policy. The Hapsburg territories included Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and the Tyrol. In all these lands the Protestants were numerous; in Bohemia and Hungary they formed the majority of the population, and included most of the nobles and land-owning gentry. This was against the letter of the Peace of Augsburg, but the Hapsburg princes had tolerated it. About 1580 they began to apply the law more strictly.

Their aim, like that of the Bavarian dukes, was twofold—to lessen heresy and to suppress the power of the nobles. In countries like these, where the Protestants were so numerous, this policy was sure to lead, at last, to open war, for all the nobles were jealous of their rights, and many of them were zealous for their religion.

In 1618 the war broke out. It started in Bohemia as a revolt of Bohemia against the king, Matthias, and the future king, Ferdinand II. The revolt spread quickly into Austria and Hungary. In 1619 Ferdinand was elected German emperor, and almost at the same time the Bohemians elected Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, to be their king. He was a young man, the leader of the Reformed princes of Germany, and son-in-law to James I of England. Thus the Thirty Years' War began.

The Thirty Years' War

The history of that long and bitter struggle falls into three periods, of unequal length. The first (1618-29) is that of Catholic victory. In the Hapsburg lands that victory was complete. The Bohemian and Hungarian nobles were crushed, the Protestant churches and schools were closed, the pastors were driven into exile, and in 1627 all non-catholics living in Bohemia were given six months in which to change their religion or leave the country. Meanwhile, in 1621, the seat of war had shifted to the West. This time it was the Reformed Palatinate that was the object of attack. The Catholic League, an alliance of German nobles, headed by Maximilian of Bavaria, came to the emperor's support, and Spanish troops, sent in

Catholic Victory

from the Netherlands, increased the Catholic army. Frederick sought in vain for German aid. Some help came from England and some from Holland, but it was insufficient, and the troops of the League occupied the whole Palatinate. In 1625 the Protestants were promised support from an unexpected quarter. Richelieu, the new prime minister of France, looked with alarm upon the growing Hapsburg power. He planned a great anti-Hapsburg league, to be composed of France and Denmark, the United Netherlands and the Protestants of Germany. Denmark, relying on his promises, actually put an army into the field in 1627, but the only result was to carry the war up to the Baltic Sea, with the Catholic forces everywhere victorious. Tilly, the general of the Catholic League, and Wallenstein, the leader of the Hapsburg army, drove the Danes behind their own frontiers and overran the small Protestant states which had supported them. The Edict of Restitution, in 1629, showed how they meant to use their victory. All bishoprics that had been Catholic in 1552, three years before the Peace of Augsburg, were to be restored to Catholic hands, together with all lands, revenues and monastic houses that had been confiscated since that date, and from all Catholic lands all Protestants were to be excluded. It was clear that this was to be only the first step. The purpose of the victors was to re-catholicize all Germany, and there seemed to be no way to prevent it. The cause of Protestantism seemed to be hopeless.

The second period of the war (1630-32) is the period of Gustavus Adolphus. He had been king of Sweden since 1611. His reign had been a time of

constant war, first against Denmark, then against Poland, whose king was a claimant for the Swedish crown. In these wars the Swedish king had been uniformly successful. He had at his command an army of veterans, used to his leadership, and in 1630 he decided that the time had come for him to intervene in Germany. For this intervention he had a double motive. The whole southern shore of the Baltic as far East as Riga, with the exception of the one city of Stralsund, was in possession of the imperial army, which was becoming a menace to Sweden. A blow at the imperial power was the best possible defence of his own realm. But this was not his only motive. Gustavus Adolphus was a genuinely religious man and he realized that he was the last hope of Protestantism in Northern Europe. If the remnants of Protestant power in Germany could be gathered up and consolidated, there was still a chance that Protestantism might be saved. In 1630 he landed an army in Germany. The Margrave of Brandenburg and the Duke of Saxony furnished him some troops; France furnished him some money. In one swift campaign he routed the army of the Catholic League, then marched all the way across Germany and spent the winter of 1631-32 upon the Rhine. In the spring of 1632, he moved against Bavaria, marching into the heart of the duchy and capturing Munich. His career was cut short at its very height, when he was killed in the battle that would have made him practically master of all Germany (Lützen, November 16, 1632).

Gustavus Adolphus

The meteoric career of the "Lion of the North" showed how frail a thing the Catholic empire really

was. One great general had broken it into fragments in a single year. The fragments were never reunited. The dream of a Catholic Germany ruled by a Hapsburg emperor never came true. With the death of Gustavus Adolphus the war entered its third period. France became an active ally of the Swedes. There were no great armies, no great generals, no great campaigns. The struggle became a series of local conflicts between mercenary troops. It ended only when all parties were war-weary. The Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended it, was a compromise. Protestantism was preserved to those states which had been Protestant in 1624. From Eastern Europe it was practically gone. In the places where it did continue to exist, it was an oppressed religion, with no rights and few privileges. In this war of religion the German empire had committed suicide. The long struggle between France and the Hapsburgs for the first place in Europe was decided in favor of the French. The Empire was thenceforth a loose federation of independent states, utterly impotent abroad, scarcely less impotent at home, and France became the dominant power in Europe.

The Peace of Westphalia

While the Thirty Years' War was destroying the wealth and the power of the German empire, the United Netherlands were moving forward to a brief place in the sun. It was the Dutch who gathered the firstfruits of the English victory over Spain's Armada (1588).[8] The Spanish sea-power began to decline, and the Dutch seized upon the opportunity to extend their

The Netherlands

[8] See above, pp. 267, 275 f.

commerce, first to the East Indies, then to the West Indies and America. Upon the trade which the Dutch sailors brought into Rotterdam, the burghers of the Dutch cities grew immensely rich, and their wealth was used to support a many-sided culture. Franz Hals and Rembrandt, the painters; Descartes and Spinoza, the philosophers; Swammerhan, Leuvenhoeck and Huyghens, the scientists, were all living at one time in Holland, though Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) the universal genius of this Dutch culture, was forced to spend his later years in exile.

The religion of the Netherlands was Reformed, but it was practiced with larger toleration for dissent than was to be found in any other land in Europe. In the early seventeenth century, indeed, Holland was the scene of a violent religious controversy, which threatened for a time to disrupt the Reformed Church. It connects with the name of Jacob Arminius (1560-1609), though the leader of the Arminians was Jan Uitenbogaert (1557-1644). The Arminian party—"The Remonstrants"—was in revolt against the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination, alleging that it insulted God by making Him responsible for human sin and degraded man by denying him freedom of will. The Synod of Dort (Dordrecht), in 1619, decided the questions at issue against the Arminians, and adopted a series of doctrinal statements embodying the strictest Calvinistic doctrine. This was established by law as the official teaching of the State Church of the Netherlands, and for a time (1619-25) dissent of all kinds was repressed, though the laws against it were not severely enforced. After 1625, however, the tolerance of the

Arminianism

government increased again, and when the period of Dutch culture was at its height, the Netherlands contained a larger variety of dissenting churches and sects than any other land in Europe. Lutherans, Mennonites and other Anabaptists, Arminians, even Roman Catholics and unbelievers, were unmolested, though none of them had the full privileges possessed by the official Reformed Church.

In 1603 James VI of Scotland became James I of England: in 1625 he was succeeded by his son, Charles I, who was executed in 1649. These two reigns were marked by one continuous struggle between crown and parliament. The kings, like all the other monarchs of their time, aimed at autocratic power, and there were two fields in which their claims to authority met with the most determined resistance. These two fields were religion and taxation. In both fields parliament claimed the authority which the kings desired to exercise, and the struggle issued finally in civil war.

England

The three parties of Elizabeth's day[4] continued to exist. The Romanists were an almost negligible factor. The statutes against them, made in Elizabeth's reign, were not repealed, but neither were they enforced with uniform severity, and the Roman party lived on, waiting for an opportunity to come back into power. The Anglicans were supporters of the crown. In all the conflicts between crown and parliament the influence of the bishops was steadily on the king's side. Appointments to church-positions were made by him and he assumed the right to make the church-

Crown and Parliament

[4] See above, p. 274 ff.

laws, without consent of parliament. The Puritans, however, were a growing party. Aiming to abolish episcopacy altogether, they were the natural allies of the parliament and the parliamentary leaders quite naturally became the political spokesmen of the Puritans. The antagonism of the Puritans to the established Church was heightened by the spread of Arminian doctrine among the Anglicans, and when the civil war broke out, its political and religious causes were so interwoven that they are hard to separate.

This close union of political and religious motives is well illustrated by the careers of the two great figures in the conflict between crown and parliament —William Laud and Oliver Cromwell. Laud was an Oxford scholar who rose to the position of archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. His promotions were chiefly due to the zeal and thoroughness with which he espoused the royalist cause. He represented in his own person all the things against which the Puritans were fighting. He believed that episcopacy is a divine institution which the Church must always preserve, if it is to remain the Church. He believed, too, that the historic forms of worship—ritual, vestments, architecture and the like—were "necessary helps to keep religion in vigor." In theology he was an Arminian. In all of these respects he was an anti-Calvinist. Politically he was a monarchist, believing in the divine right of kings as implicitly as he believed in the divine right of bishops. These were not with him mere abstract principles, but a practical religious and political platform. In every position which he held he at-

Archbishop Laud

tempted to enforce them to the limit of his ability, and when he became archbishop of Canterbury he undertook a new reformation of the Church of England, seeking to purify it of all Puritan elements in thought and life. Meanwhile, he had gained influence at court, and after 1628 he was the trusted adviser of Charles I and the most powerful man in England. He was the personal embodiment of all that was most hateful to Puritan and Parliamentarian alike.

It was Laud's influence that led Charles I to provoke his kingdom of Scotland to rebellion, and it was the Scottish rebellion that brought on the civil war in England. In Scotland, too, the Stuart kings were grasping after absolute power and were endeavoring to make the established Church an instrument to this end. With this in view, they aimed to conform the Scottish Church in all respects to the model of the Church of England, through the introduction of episcopacy and of English ceremonies. James proceeded cautiously, and met with some success. In 1606 he got his bishops and in 1621, by the Five Articles of Perth, he secured the introduction of some of the English customs of worship. Charles was less wise. Between 1634 and 1637 he attempted to impose upon the Church of Scotland a complete Laudian reformation. This led to swift and stern reaction. In 1638 the Scotch nobles formed a "League and Covenant," affirming their allegiance to the standards of 1581 and their abhorrence of all "papistry." A few months later, a General Assembly of the Scottish Church, meeting in defiance of a royal command, abolished all "innovations" that had been made by James I and Charles I, and re-established the

Scotland

presbyterian system of 1581. This was an act of open rebellion, which the Covenanters prepared to support by force of arms.

To repress the Scottish rebellion, Charles was obliged, in 1640, to call a parliament; none had met since 1629. In three weeks he dissolved it, only to call another before the year was out. This was the "Long Parliament," which remained in existence until 1653. As soon as it met, it proceeded to take measures against the royal ministers. Laud was thrown into prison and was executed in 1643. A law was passed declaring that no taxation could be imposed without consent of parliament. Thus the parliament struck at the two chief contentions of the royal party, the power of the king to control the Church and to levy taxes. The king interpreted these acts of the parliament as sedition. He mustered an army, the parliament did likewise, and the Civil War began (August, 1642). The first place to which the parliamentary leaders looked for aid was, naturally, Scotland, but the Covenanters regarded the issue as primarily religious, and in order to secure their support, the English parliament adopted the Solemn League and Covenant (1643). This was a solemn agreement on the part of the Protestants of England, Scotland and Ireland, to preserve the Reformed religion in Scotland and to reform religion in England and Ireland. It put the parliamentary revolution on a Puritan basis, for the proposed "reformation" included the abolition of episcopacy and of the historic forms of worship. To complete this program an "assembly of

Civil War in England

The Westminster Assembly

divines" was called to meet at Westminster in 1644. It remained in session for four years, preparing a confession of faith, a directory of worship and a form of church government. Its great monuments are the Westminster Confession and the Westminster Catechism. They are the classic forms in which Calvinism has been handed down to the English-speaking peoples of the world.

But the victory of the Puritans was never completed. The army which the parliament had raised became the master of the power that had called it into being. The war uncovered a military genius in the person of Oliver Cromwell. A member of the Long Parliament in 1640, he entered the army as a captain of horse in 1642; by 1647 he had risen to the command of the parliamentary army. It was his victories at Marston Moor (1644) and Naseby (1645), which settled the king's fate. In 1647, as commander-in-chief of the army, he was the most important man in England. He was a deeply religious man and a constant student of the Bible. To him the war against the king and the established Church was Israel's war against Ahab and the priests of Baal. But he was not a Puritan. His leanings were all toward Independency. Abominating all Roman doctrine and all practice that seemed like Romanism, he was nevertheless unwilling to force Calvinism upon the nation, but believed that toleration should be granted to all who "professed faith in God by Jesus Christ," except those who held to the twin abominations of "papacy and prelacy." His convictions became the religious policy of the army, and when the army took control over the parliament, it was put into effect.

Oliver Cromwell

In 1649 the parliament was "purged" of the members who opposed the army's policies. The "purged" parliament then proceeded to execute Charles I, and in 1653 it vested the whole government of England in Cromwell, giving him the title of Lord Protector. His government was a benevolent autocracy. The State-church was Calvinistic and presbyterian, in accordance with the decisions of the Westminster Assembly; but side by side with the State-church, there were many organizations of Independents, or Congregationalists, some of them Calvinistic, some of them Anabaptist, all of which were tolerated.

For two years after Cromwell's death (1658) the Protectorate was filled by his son, Richard Cromwell, but in 1660 the monarchy was restored, and Charles II placed upon the throne. He was an utterly irreligious man, worldly and profligate. So far as he had any religion, it was Roman, and he would gladly have made the State-church Roman Catholic. But the party that brought him back was unwilling to support such a policy, and so the Church of England sought again "the middle way" between Romanist and Puritan. The old legislation against both of these parties, and against the Independents, was restored to the statute-books, but the laws were not rigidly enforced, and the parties continued to exist.

The Restoration

In 1685 Charles II died and was succeeded by his brother, James II. He was an avowed Romanist, but Romanism was unlawful. Therefore, in 1687, he published a "Declaration of Indulgence," granting toleration to all religions. But the English bishops saw in this declaration the evidence of a plot. The toler-

ation of dissent, which it proclaimed, seemed to them only a temporary device with which to secure toleration for Romanism and thus prepare the way for the recatholicizing of the nation. Meanwhile there was already deep dissatisfaction with the king's rule, to which the king's religious policy simply added fuel, and in 1688 there was another revolution. James II was driven out, and two Protestants—Mary, the daughter of James, and her husband, William, Prince of Orange—were placed upon the throne. The Bill of Rights (1689) ended the long struggle between crown and parliament and gave England a constitutional government closely resembling that of today. It is one of the landmarks in the history of modern political liberty. The Toleration Act, adopted in the same year, granted freedom of public worship to all kinds of Protestant Christians, excluding from this privilege only the Roman Catholics. At the same time, it vested practical control over the Established Church in parliament. This was, of course, a defeat for Puritanism, as well as for Romanism. England was thenceforth to be Protestant, but its State-church was not to have a monopoly on the religious life of the nation.

The Revolution of 1688

In Scotland the final settlement naturally followed the lines of the English settlement. Cromwell's policy of toleration did not satisfy the Scotch presbyterians. They stood upon the Solemn League and Covenant and insisted that presbyterianism alone should be tolerated. But even in Scotland there were dissenters, episcopalians and congregationalists. In 1690 the presbyterians were so far successful that presbyterianism

The Scottish Settlement

was recognized by William and Mary as the official organization and the Westminster Confession as the official creed of the Church in Scotland. In 1712, five years after the consolidation of the two kingdoms, the Scotch episcopalians and congregationalists were granted full toleration.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) placed France in the forefront of the European nations, and prepared the way for the age of Louis XIV, the "Grand Monarch" (1661-1715). It was an age of such splendor as no European nation had previously enjoyed. Not only was it rich and powerful above all others, but on the basis of this wealth it developed a new culture. Poets like Corneille, Moliere and Racine, philosophers like Pascal and Descartes, historians like Tillemont, preachers like Bossuet (1627-1704) and Fenelon (1651-1715) made this the golden age of French literature. But France too had its internal religious struggles. The battle of Catholic against Huguenot was incessant, until at last it was ended, in 1685, by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[5] The Huguenots, deprived of toleration, emigrated in large numbers to other lands, to England, to Holland and to Germany. Thenceforward the religion of France was exclusively Roman. But it was a Romanism in which Rome was not allowed to dominate the Church in France. This led to repeated clashes between king and pope, and in 1682, a French synod adopted, with the king's consent, a definition of the "liberties of the Gallican Church," which practically deprived the pope of all control over the church-machinery. Thus in France the age of

France

[5] See above, p. 261.

struggle ended with the creation of a national Church, Roman in doctrine and accepting the headship of the pope as a theory, but actually an independent body, subject to the French crown.

By 1689, therefore, the political results of the Reformation were practically complete. The battle between Roman and Protestant for the control of Europe was almost over. The Counter-reformation had spent its force and the Roman Church had been compelled to accept for the time being a situation to which it never gave its consent. The religious map of Europe had assumed the aspect with which we are familiar. Between the Catholic nations and the Protestant nations the religious antagonism continued to exist, but within the Protestant nations the principle of toleration was being used to relieve the antagonism between the Protestant parties. The application of this principle opened the way for new and important movements within the Protestant churches.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Protestant Life and Thought in the XVII and XVIII Centuries

In the Protestant churches of continental Europe the seventeenth century was the age of orthodoxy. The truth which the great reformers had found in the Scriptures and which had been stated in the Protestant creeds needed to be given order and arrangement. That was the task of the second and third generations of Protestants teachers, both Lutheran and Reformed. These men were schoolmen, professors in the universities, and in their teaching they created great systems of Protestant theology, to match the systems which the Roman Church had inherited from the Middle Ages. In these systems evangelical truth became an object of reflection. The principles of the Reformation were carried to their extreme logical conclusions. The philosophy of the Middle Ages gave the theologians the framework of their systems, and the Bible became a book of texts with which doctrines were to be proved. The greatest of these new schoolmen were, among the Lutherans, John Gerhard (1583-1637), and among the Reformed Gysbert Voetius (1589-1676), though they are only two of many. By men thus occupied the Gospel had to be treated chiefly as doctrine and religion had to appear chiefly as right thinking. For this reason, the age of orthodoxy was also an age of constant controversy.

The Age of Orthodoxy

But the strong emphasis which the seventeenth century laid upon religion as doctrine was balanced on the other side by an equally strong current of mystical and practical religion. Among the Calvinists it usually took the form of that austere and stern insistence upon the moral law which we associate with Puritanism and which finds expression in the writings of John Milton (1608-74). Among other Protestants it was more often mystical, laying all emphasis on the direct communion of the believing Christian with his God.

This mystical view of religion had been common in the Roman Church of the Middle Ages. It had found expression in the life and work of men like Bernard of Clairvaux and Francis of Assisi. It had been handed down to the Reformation-time in the books of Tauler and the *German Theology*, and the writings of the Dutch mystics. In this view of life and way of thought men had taken refuge from the externalized religion of the Church. The Counter-reformation had produced a revival of mystical piety within the Roman Church. Ignatius Loyola had been full of it, but he had subordinated mystical experience to the service of the Church; others of his age had made the experience of God an end in itself. The Spaniard, Molinos (1640-97) and the French women, Madame Guyon (1648-1717) and Antoinette Bourginon (d. 1680) were mystics of this type within the Roman Church. But this current of mysticism flowed in the Protestant churches too. It was common among the Anabaptist sects, and men like Valentine Weigel

Mystical Christianity

(1533-88) and Jacob Böhme (1575-1634) are its representatives in Lutheran Germany. A healthier type of mysticism is that of the Lutheran, John Arndt (1555-1621), whose *True Christianity* is a classic of Lutheran devotional literature, and of the English Puritans, John Bunyan (1628-88) and Richard Baxter (1615-91).

It was this mystical Christianity which produced the English sect known to its own members as the Friends, to others as the Quakers. Its founder was George Fox (1624-91). In 1646 he began to receive what he believed to be revelations from the Lord, and became a wandering preacher. In his preaching he divorced Christian truth from the Scriptures, and laid all emphasis on the "inner light," which was believed to come into the soul by direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit. He and his followers avoided all the churches and gave up the sacraments. They bound themselves to lives of the utmost simplicity, and in a time when war was the rule and peace the exception, they refused to bear arms. The first Quaker congregation was organized in 1669. Fox's most noteworthy convert was William Penn (1644-1718), a young and wealthy aristocrat, who founded the colony of Pennsylvania in 1682, as a "holy experiment," a colony which would welcome men of all faiths and permit to all of them full freedom of belief and worship.

The Quakers

Another manifestation of this Protestant mysticism was the work of Emmanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). He was the son of a Swedish bishop and before he began to receive revelations he was already a man of distinction in the scientific world. In 1745 he had his

first revelation. This was followed by others in which the secrets of the universe were made clear. These revelations did not claim to be substitutes for the revelation of God given in the Scriptures, but only to give the key to the interpretation of the Bible, all of which is to be understood as an allegory. His religious views influenced many people in the Swedish Church, but did not result immediately in the establishment of a separate organization. Indeed, it was not until after Swedenborg's death that the first "Church of the New Jerusalem" was founded in London (1788).

Emanuel Swedenborg

Toward the end of the seventeenth century the mystical and the practical tendencies within the Protestant churches combined to produce the Pietistic movement. In all the Protestant lands of Europe there was a revolt against the formalism, both in doctrine and in life, that had laid hold upon the established churches. The connections between the various phases of this revolt are obscure and difficult to trace. It was not, apparently, a movement that began in one country and spread into others. Its history is rather an illustration of how similar causes may produce similar effects in many places at the same time. We find it arising almost simultaneously in Switzerland, in Holland and in Germany, with only the slenderest traceable connections between its parts. In England it appears chiefly among the stricter Puritans and the Independents. Into the Scandinavian lands it was introduced from Germany.

Pietism

It was the German movement that was of the greatest importance, and the name of Pietism is generally

reserved for that movement only. The founder of German Pietism was Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705). A quiet, shy, retiring boy, he was deeply impressed in his childhood by reading John Arndt's *True Christianity,* and some works of English Puritans that had been translated into German. In preparation for the ministry, he spent eight years at the University of Strassburg. They were followed by three years of travel and four years as assistant pastor in Strassburg. In 1666 he became chief pastor at Frankfurt on the Main, where he remained for twenty years. In 1686 he removed to Dresden, where for five years he was court preacher to the Duke of Saxony, going in 1691 to Berlin as a member of the consistory, or governing board, of the Church in Brandenburg.

Philip Jacob Spener

Spener's work as pastor in Frankfurt opened his eyes to many evils in the church-life of his time. His fundamental criticism of it was that it was too formal. Doctrines were preached, but the Scriptures were neglected; the forms of religion were used, but the religion of the heart was seldom found, and morals were woefully lax. To correct these evils, he undertook a reformation of the preaching and the religious instruction in his own congregation, and introduced the *collegia pietatis.* These were private gatherings of lay-people, under the direction of a pastor, for the study of the Scriptures, for prayer, and for mutual encouragement in good works. In 1675 he published a little book which attracted immediate and widespread attention. It was entitled *Pious Wishes* (*Pia desideria*). It was a frank and fearless criticism of the church-life of the time, with six proposals for improvement. They

were a more earnest and constant use of Scripture; greater emphasis on practical Christianity; the cultivation of a kindlier spirit toward theological opponents; a thorough reform of student-life, and a complete change in current methods of preaching. The response to the *Pious Wishes* was instantaneous, and it was not long before Spener's proposals for reform were being introduced in other places than Frankfurt.

It was not until after 1689, however, that Pietism became a really important movement in the German Church, and then it was not Spener, but August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) who was the leader of it. Francke became an adherent of Spener's views while a student at the University of Leipzig. In 1688, during an absence from the university, he passed through an emotional experience of religion which he called his conversion. He returned to Leipzig the next year as a lecturer, but his lectures were of the evangelistic type. They were directed more toward edification than toward instruction. Both in the university and in the city these lectures created a sensation, and the class-rooms of the other lecturers were empty, while Francke's were filled to overflowing. His utterances were interpreted by his Leipzig colleagues as criticisms of themselves, and a violent controversy broke out within the university, which finally led to Francke's expulsion from the faculty. A brief pastorate in Erfurt was marked by disturbances in the city of the same kind that had taken place in Leipzig, and once more Francke was expelled. Through Spener's influence he was appointed pastor at Glaucha, a suburb of Halle, and there and in Halle

August Hermann Francke

his great life-work was done. Beside his work of pastor and preacher, Francke was professor in the newly-established University of Halle, and became the founder of the first great modern institutions of inner missions.

Pietism at Halle

The Franckean institutions began, in 1695, with the establishment of a school for poor boys. This was followed shortly by an orphanage, a high school, where boys from a distance could be educated under Francke's influence, and a free home for poor university students. These institutions had no endowments and no state-aid, but were supported entirely on the free-will offerings which came in from all parts of Germany and from foreign lands. The theological faculty of the university was made up of men who shared the religious views of Francke and Spener, and thought of theology as the science of the Scriptures rather then as the science of dogmas. In Francke's institutions, therefore, and in the university, Pietism had a center from which it could spread throughout the German Church. But its influence extended far outside of Germany. When the king of Denmark sent the first Protestant missionaries to India, in 1705, both of them were former Halle students, and for the next twenty years the Danish mission was manned by missionaries sent out from Halle. In 1742 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg came from Halle to become the first great organizer of the Lutheran Church in America.

But the history of Pietism is short. This was partly because it was not an organized movement. The Pietists did not form a new church. They desired, instead,

to reform the established Church, and both Spener and Francke discouraged all proposals for separation. When the older leaders died, therefore, the movement began immediately to decline. A generation after Francke's death it had been absorbed into the general church-life, but Pietism as an influence has come down to the present day. Its great achievement was to bring home to the conscience of the Church the fact that correctness of doctrine is not enough for true religion, which consists in the personal experience of the redeeming power of Christ. In so doing it inevitably over-emphasized things that the age of orthodoxy had underestimated. It preached a code of conduct which tended to become gloomy and austere, and bordered at times on Pharisaism; it encouraged the kind of introspection and self-examination which easily becomes morbid; it substituted the search after holiness for the search after truth, and so encouraged the idea that doctrine is one of the minor interests of the Church. But over against these faults must be set the fact that Pietism did make religion a personal and very serious matter, that it aroused a new interest in the Bible, that it gave the laity a larger place in the Church than they had ever had, and that it developed new forms of church-activity, especially in the fields of education and in foreign and inner missions.

The Results of Pietism

Among the lasting results of Pietism was the foundation of the Moravian Church. It came into existence as the result of the work of Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). The son of a Saxon nobleman, he was bereaved of his father in early in-

Zinzendorf and the Moravians

fancy and was raised under pietistic influences. For six years (1710-16) he was a pupil in the Franckean School at Halle. It was there that he acquired the interest in foreign missions that furnished him with one of the great motives of his later life, and it was there too, that his religious views received their peculiar cast, for the Moravian Church was, in its beginnings, permeated with Pietism. In 1727 he offered his estates in Saxony as a home for religious refugees. Most of the settlers who accepted his offer came from Moravia, and the majority of them were members of the organization which had existed there and in Poland ever since the days of John Hus, under the name of the Bohemian Brethren. The new settlers built on Zinzendorf's estates the village of Herrnhut and established a little religious community, of which Zinzendorf himself became director in 1728. By accepting the Augsburg Confession as a true statement of doctrine, the Moravians secured toleration in Saxony. Ordained to the Lutheran ministry in 1734, Zinzendorf received, in 1737, a second ordination as bishop of the Brethren, thus establishing a formal connection with the Hussite Church.

Zinzendorf's plan, as it gradually developed, was to form a kind of international association of true Christians, with members in all the churches, and make Herrnhut its center, but the plan was wrecked on the opposition of the Lutheran Church of Saxony. Meanwhile, missionaries had gone out from Herrnhut to the West Indies (1732) and to Greenland (1733), and gradually the interests of the community came to center elsewhere than at Herrnhut—in new settlements in England, Denmark and America, and in the

foreign mission fields. In the end (after 1764) the community became a separate church, subscribing the Augsburg Confession, organized under bishops, and maintaining an international organization. Credit for the completion of this work belongs to Zinzendorf's successor, August Gottfried Spangenberg (1704-92). It was chiefly through Spangenberg that John Wesley formed his first contacts with Moravianism, which became the connecting link between German Pietism and English Methodism.

Pietism attacked Protestant orthodoxy in the name of spiritual religion, declaring that orthodoxy had made too much of the mind and too little of the conscience and the heart. But even while the pietistic movement was at its height, other forces were gathering for a new and more formidable attack from the opposite quarter. They were the forces of rationalism.

Rationalism may take many forms, but it roots in a certain idea of humanity. The rationalist believes in the dignity of human nature, the freedom of the human will, and the ability of men to do the will of God. He therefore thinks of human reason as the means by which men must test the things that are proposed to them as true. We are certain of those things which our reason tells us, and the things which contradict the results of our reasoning must be untrue. This view of human nature is in the sharpest contrast with that which Luther and Calvin had learned, through Augustin, from St. Paul. It is equally opposed to the view of the Roman Church, which holds that men are to accept as true whatever the Church teaches. When this rationalistic view gained wide acceptance, as it did

Rationalism

in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was bound to come into conflict with all the received systems of theology, both Roman and Protestant.

Rationalism, using the term in this larger sense, had always existed within the Christian Church, even in the days of Roman supremacy, but it received a new impulse from the Renaissance. The men of the Renaissance rebelled against the view of human nature which the Roman Church had taught. They considered it unworthy and degrading. To them the free unfolding of the latent powers that lie within man's nature seemed a higher thing to strive for than the perfection through self-denial and self-sacrifice which the Church was teaching. Nevertheless, this denial of the Church's viewpoint did not lead in every case to a break with the Church, chiefly because the men who were most affected by the Renaissance did not usually make religion their chief interest.

Among the religious radicals of the sixteenth century there were, however, some whose religious premises were those of humanism. Such a man was Fausto Sozzini (1539-1604). From his uncle, Laelio Sozzini (1525-62) he imbibed a view of religion utterly different from that of either Romanism or Protestantism. In teaching this view he became the founder, in Poland, of the first important Unitarian sect. The Socinians believed that men obtain salvation through the fulfillment of the law of God. They denied both the reality and the necessity of an atonement, holding that instruction in truth is all that men need in order to be saved. Christ is the man through whom God has imparted this instruction; He is not God. Christ's doc-

Socinianism

trine is found in the New Testament, but not in the Old. It supplements the human reason, but does not contradict it. All religious teaching must, therefore, be tested by its agreement with reason. These doctrines were, of course, repudiated by Romanists, Calvinists and Lutherans, and in 1661 the Socinians were expelled from Poland.

The Dutch Arminians,[1] with their doctrine of free will, were apparently influenced to some extent by ideas that came out of the same circle of Italian humanists which had produced the two Sozzini, and similar influences were also at work in England among the "Latitudinarians"—a name that was given to the advocates of broad religious toleration around the middle of the seventeenth century—and in Germany, where they produced efforts for the reconciliation of Lutheran and Reformed theology. The chief representative of this reconciling tendency was George Calixtus (1586-1656).

Meanwhile modern philosophy and modern science were in their first beginnings, and were coming to the support of humanistic rationalism. It was the philosophers whose influence was at first the stronger. There were two men especially whose influence was incalculably great—Bacon of Verulam, (1561-1626) and Rene Descartes (1596-1650). Bacon was the first important advocate of the inductive method, which was to make modern science possible —the method which reaches general laws through a comparison of individual cases. Descartes' great con-

The Beginnings of Modern Philosophy

[1] See above, p. 298.

tribution to modern thinking was his doctrine of "hypothetical doubt." He believed that we must submit all our knowledge to critical examination and accept as really true only those things that can be proved with mathematical certainty. But while the philosophers were thus beginning to re-examine all the ideas handed down from the past and to construct new theories of knowledge, the scientists were achieving new triumphs of the human mind. It was the astronomical discoveries of Copernicus (1473-1543), followed up and demonstrated by John Kepler (1571-1630), Galileo Galilei (1564-1642), and finally by Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727), which created the greatest disturbance in religious thought. The theory that the earth revolves around the sun according to fixed mechanical laws completely changed men's ideas about the world we live in. It seemed to contradict the Scriptures, and orthodox theology had included the older theory of the universe in its systems of religious truth.

Science

In the seventeenth century, therefore, three streams of thought combined to undermine Roman and Protestant orthodoxy—the humanistic, with its idea of the dignity of man, derived from ancient Greece; the philosophical, with its demand that things to be received as true must be capable of proof; and the scientific, seeking to discover new truth by the observation of known facts. These influences produced a large variety of religious opinion, all of which was more or less critical of traditional Christianity.

In England, rationalism ran out into deism. God was thought of as merely the moral ruler of the universe, which He governs by fixed mechanical laws.

Religion then became merely the knowledge of God and the pursuit of virtue, which consists in the service of one's fellow-man. We attain to knowledge of God and of virtue through rational reflection upon the world of nature and of man. True religion, therefore, is "natural religion." It does not need a divine revelation to support it, and all "positive religions," including Christianity, have built false and unnecessary doctrines upon the foundation of that "natural religion" which underlies them all. The doctrinal controversies within Christianity are, therefore, meaningless and absurd, and the superiority of Christianity to other religions lies only in its greater reasonableness. In David Hume (1711-76) and in some of the French writers, this type of rationalism led to complete skepticism, in which all religion appears as an illusion, arising out of fear. But though deism first arose in England, it was in France that it had its great literary representative in Voltaire (1694-1778). In America it was represented by Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson.

Deism

A way of thought so widespread and so dominant among the intellectual classes could not remain without effect upon the Church. The deists broke away from the Church entirely. They were either hostile or indifferent to it. But the defenders of Christianity sought a way of compromise. They endeavored to save Christian tradition by rationalizing Christian thought. The most influential thinker of this type was John Locke (1632-1704). His philosophy did much, indeed, to further deistic thought, but he was not a deist, and his method of treating revealed religion deeply influenced the thinking of the Church.

Generally speaking, the churchmen accepted the idea that there is a "natural religion" at which men can arrive by the use of reason, but that this "natural religion" is not sufficient for the needs of men, and must be supplemented by revelation, though genuine revelation cannot contradict "natural religion." Miracles and the fulfillment of prophecy are the two great proofs that Christianity is the genuine revealed religion. This answer to deism was itself essentially rationalistic, but was regarded as complete. Its classical expression is found in William Paley's *Evidence of Christianity* (1794).[2]

Rationalism in Germany

Rationalism was relatively slow in reaching Germany, partly because of the generally backward condition of that country caused by the Thirty Years' War. The movement, known there as the "Illumination" (*Aufklärung*) did not reach full vigor until the second half of the eighteenth century, though the beginnings of it are earlier. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz 1647-1716) and Christian Wolff (1679-1754), the first of the great line of modern German philosophers, prepared the way for it. Pietism, too, had quite unintentionally smoothed its path, by its attacks on orthodox theology. But the movement did not get fairly under way until strong foreign influences, from England and from France, began to work.

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[2] William Law (1731) and Joseph Butler (1736) made a different contribution to the Church's thought. Law utterly denied all power to the human reason, while Butler, in his famous *Analogy of Religion* placed very narrow limits to its ability to discover with sureness any truth. It was the view of Paley that found the widest acceptance, though Butler's argument against the deists have had more lasting value.

In its general tendencies, German rationalism resembled that of England and France, though it was, on the whole, more conservative. For that very reason, however, it entered even more completely into the thought and life of the Church. Its stronghold was the university which had formerly been the citadel of pietism, and twenty-five years after the death of Francke, Halle was dominated by Johann Salomo Semler (1725-91). He was the chief representative of moderate rationalism in Germany. It was generally characteristic of him and his school that they laid less emphasis on "natural religion" than did the French and English thinkers, and devoted more attention to the removal from traditional Christianity of what they believed were superstitions. Their aim was not the proclamation of a new religion of reason, but the purification of Christianity, but the things which they cast out as superstitions were those things that seemed unreasonable. It was in this circle that the modern criticism of the Bible had its beginnings, the criticism which attempts to distinguish those parts of the Scriptures that have permanent meaning, from those that were of purely temporary value for their own day. On the other hand, Germany had also its extreme rationalists, of whom the most important was Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768), and in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729-81) it had an independent religious thinker, whose ideas were of great influence upon the men of his own generation. To him historic Christianity seemed to be only a step in the education of humanity toward the higher religion of the future.

The time during which rationalism directly influ-

enced the churches of Germany was not of any great length. It was too intellectual to arouse men to deep and lasting devotion. Its God was not a living, present, loving father, but an abstract idea. Its Christ was not a saviour, but a prophet. Its virtue was the keeping of a law. It was a philosophy rather than a religion, and it was unhistoric, different from anything that had ever been known as Christianity.[3] But the indirect influence of rationalism has never ceased. It forced men to busy themselves with the problems that Christianity presents to the mind, to examine Christian history in a new way, to study the Christian records as they had never done before. It pushed into the background the differences between Lutheran and Reformed Protestantism and forced the conservatives of both churches to center their attention on the question whether any historic type of Christianity could endure. It sent them into inquiries concerning the nature of religion, and thus opened the way for a new method, as well as for new activity in religious thought.

The Influence of Rationalism

The overthrow of eighteenth century rationalism was due to three distinct influences. The one was the influence of the new philosophy. In 1781 Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) published his *Critique of the Pure Reason,* which marks the beginning of a new epoch in the history of philosophy. He followed it, in 1788, with a *Critique of the Practical Reason,* and, in 1793,

Immanuel Kant

[3] The religious poverty of rationalism is clearly apparent in the sermons of the rationalistic preachers. They are either merely moral discourses, or else they are sentimental meditations upon God and nature.

with his *Religion Within the Limits of Mere Reason.* He maintained that a religion of pure reason is impossible; the practical reason alone can give us any clue to religious truth, but the content of the religion with which the practical reason furnishes us is summed up in three things, duty, God and immortality. Kant's work became the starting-point for a new philosophical school which speedily made the philosophy of the Enlightenment antiquated, and when it ceased to be modern its power was gone.

The second influence was that of the romantic movement in literature. Like rationalism, romanticism was an international movement. It came to expression in all the European literatures, most strongly in England, France and Germany, but its great representative was Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78). The romanticists plead for a return from the complexities of modern civilization to the simplicity of earlier days. They gave new values to nature and to history. They laid a new emphasis on emotion as a necessary element in life, and depreciated the dominance of reason. Imagination and feeling seemed to them to be as necessary as the cultivation of the mind, and esthetic values to be on a par with purely rational values. They embodied their ideas in literary productions which captivated their own generation and gave direction to the literature of the nineteenth century in all the languages of Europe.

Romanticism

These two lines of influence were consolidated in Germany by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1758-1834). As preacher, writer and professor, he did more to break the power of rationalism over the cultivated

circles of his own land than any other one man, and during the whole of the nineteenth century his ideas were affecting religious thought in all parts of the Protestant world. He set himself the task of restating the whole Protestant theology, beginning with the question, What is religion? He answered the question by defining it as "the feeling of absolute dependence," which must be dependence upon an Absolute Being, therefore, upon God. Thus he removed religion from the realm of reason and placed it in the realm of life, for "feeling" in Schleiermacher's thought, was more than mere emotion. If religion is an experience, then the distinction between natural and revealed religion falls, and there remains only higher religion and lower religion. By these teachings, he not only overthrew the foundations of rationalism, but set theology new tasks.

Schleiermacher

The third influence working against rationalism was that of the older Protestant thought. Pietism and orthodoxy combined to resist rationalism, and the union was of benefit to both. In Germany the way for this union had been prepared by Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687-1752), the most important commentator on the New Testament between the sixteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The union was completed in the "Old Tübingen School," of which Gottlob Christian Storr (1746-1805) was the beginner. Against rationalism these "super-naturalists" vigorously defended the inspiration of the Scriptures and the deity of Christ, and when rationalism fell into disrepute among the thinking classes, where it had had its stronghold, this new, and modified, orthodoxy came into power again.

While rationalism, already strong in England, was beginning to make headway in Germany also, there arose in England a new movement, opposed to rationalism and destined to destroy its power there. This movement was the evangelical revival. Like all similar movements, its beginnings are obscure. It had its origin in the same tendency to mystical piety, combined with care for the cultivation of the moral life, which produced German pietism. Indeed, pietism in Germany and the evangelical revival in England may be regarded as different phases of a single movement. The way was prepared for it by the formation within the Church of England of a large number of societies. These societies closely resembled the *collegia pietatis,* founded by Spener and his followers in Germany.[6] Their purposes were study of the Scriptures, prayer, the cultivation of the inner life, and the development of Christian character and works of mercy. The type of piety cultivated in these societies is represented by the writings of William Law (1686-1761), whose books, *A Practical Treatise on Christian Perfection,* and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life,* deeply influenced the leaders of the great revival. It was, however, John Wesley (1703-91), his brother, Charles Wesley (1708-88), and George Whitefield (1714-70), who called the revival into existence.

The Evangelical Revival in England

John Wesley was the fifteenth child, as Charles was the eighteenth, of Samuel Wesley, a Church of England clergyman, of Puritan descent, who was for forty

[6] See above, p. 312. Spener may have taken the idea from England.

years rector of the rather obscure country parish of Epworth. Educated in London, and then at Oxford, he attained distinction as a scholar, and was named a Fellow of Lincoln College in 1726. Before receiving this appointment, he was ordained. Between 1727 and 1729 he spent some part of his time assisting his father with the work at Epworth, but from 1729 to 1735 he was in residence at Oxford. The younger brother, Charles, went up to the university from London in 1726. In 1729, while John was at Epworth, Charles and two others formed themselves into a sort of club, which developed into a student "society" of the kind just mentioned. When John came back from Epworth he, too, became a member of it, and immediately its leader. The circle gradually enlarged until, by 1735, it numbered fourteen. The serious way in which the members of the club took their religious duties, meeting daily for prayer, going frequently to the Communion, fasting twice in the week, visiting the jails, etc., brought upon them the ridicule of their fellow-students. Among the nicknames applied to them was that of "Methodists," the name which clung to the whole movement and was adopted by the church which came out of it. From the very beginning of the movement, then, the two brothers were associated in it, and this association continued unbroken until the younger brother's death. Of the two, Charles was the gentler and the sweeter nature, the more moderate, the less inclined to take extreme positions. He became the poet of Methodism and the foremost English hymn-writer of the eighteenth century. John was the more gifted intellectually and was one of those

John and Charles Wesley

characters who seem to be born with the gift of ruling other men. As the Methodist movement developed he was not only its guiding spirit, but its controlling genius, exhibiting a talent for organization and attention to detail that is little short of marvelous.

In 1735 both the Wesleys left England, to serve as missionaries in the newly-planted colony of Georgia. Their work there was unsuccessful and discouraging. Charles returned in 1736 and John in 1738. The one important result of the enterprise was in the contacts which they formed, on ship-board and in the colony, with a group of Moravian settlers. Among the Moravians they found a warmer type of religion than they had known before. The calm and quiet faith with which these emigrants met the perils of the sea and the hardships of a new land impressed them deeply. Upon John Wesley, Spangenberg[1] left an especially strong impression. Their contacts with the Moravians continued after their return to England, and both of the brothers were, for a time, members of a Moravian "society," founded in London by Peter Boehler, in 1738.

It was in that year that the brothers were "converted." Describing his own experience, John Wesley says, "An assurance was given me that He (Christ) had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death." This assurance came to him in the meeting of a Church of England "society," while listening to the reading of Luther's *Preface to the Epistle to the Romans,* with its description of "the change which God works in the heart

[1] See above, p. 317.

through faith in Christ." The suddenness of this conversion was only seeming. For years Wesley had been a seeker after peace of mind and heart. He had failed to find it in intellectual endeavor or in religious exercises. It came to him in a moment of complete self-surrender to the promises of the Christ whom he had known from childhood.

For some time after his conversion Wesley was not sure about the course which he should next pursue. He went to Germany, where he made the acquaintance of Zinzendorf, and visited Herrnhut and Halle. On his return to England he and his brother began to preach in churches where they were invited, but the invitations were not many and were seldom repeated, and they were compelled to do most of their preaching in the "societies."

In 1739 the Wesleys joined forces with George Whitefield. He had been one of the latest members of the Oxford club, having joined it shortly before the Wesleys went to Georgia. Having passed through a religious struggle not unlike John Wesley's and coming out of it with his mind and heart at peace, he had applied for ordination and received it in 1736. After a brief ministry in Georgia, he entered upon the work of evangelistic preaching, which occupied the remainder of his life. He became the great revivalist of the eighteenth century. He was several times in America, where he died in 1770. His preaching in New England, in 1740, contributed greatly to the religious movement in the Colonies known as the "Great Awakening." In 1739 he was preaching in the open air at Bristol to great crowds of people. So large had his

George Whitefield

work there become that he called John Wesley to assist him. After some hesitation, Wesley consented, and with the forming of this association the spread of Methodism began. The people flocked by the thousands to the preaching of Whitefield and the Wesleys. "Conversions" were numerous. The success of the Bristol work led to the beginning of similar preaching in other places. The parish clergy were opposed to their entrance and the preachers were at times subjected to violent treatment, but still the work went on.

Methodism

In all of this there was no intention to found a new church. The evangelists were clergymen of the Church of England and did not attempt to withdraw their converts from the parish-churches or to administer the sacraments outside of them. The Wesleys, at least, attacked no doctrines officially held by the Church of England; on the contrary, they accepted the doctrinal standards of that church more whole-heartedly than did many of the parish-clergy. Of Whitefied this was less true. He was a Calvinist, with strong convictions on the subject of predestination, which made his preaching peculiarly acceptable in New England, while Wesley, following the general trend of Anglican opinion, was an Arminian. This difference led to an estrangement between the two great preachers, which was afterwards healed, but which prevented them from working closely together after 1741. Whitefield's influence on Methodism was thenceforth indirect.

But Wesley was not the man to be satisfied with the mere passing effects of a revival. He saw that to conserve the results of his preaching, some kind of an

organization was necessary. He therefore organized his converts into "societies," on the Moravian model.

The Methodist Societies

These societies were then divided into smaller groups, or "classes," and at the head of each of them was placed a leader, whose duty it was to watch over the members' spiritual life, to encourage those who needed it, to rebuke and, if necessary, to cause the expulsion of those who fell away from the standards of the society. It was in this way that the Methodists enforced the "discipline" that was characteristic of the movement. It was but natural for all of these societies to look to John Wesley for the guidance which he was always ready to give. In the early days it was possible for him to direct their affairs by personal visitation, but as the scope of his activities widened, much of the work had to be done by others, and in 1744 the first annual conference of Methodist preachers was held in London. Technically, most of these preachers were laymen. They had no episcopal ordination and no other function than that of preaching in the Methodist societies and guiding their activities. As early as 1742 some of the societies had begun to own property, and this necessitated further organization. Thus the Methodist societies came to form within the Church of England a complete organization which exercised all the functions of a church except two—it ordained no ministers and administered no sacraments. This situation could not permanently endure. There were only two possibilities—either the Church of England must adopt Methodism or the Methodists must secede.

It was not until 1784 that John Wesley assumed the right to ordain ministers. His action was in view of

conditions in America. Philip Embury (1728-73) had begun to preach Methodism in New York in 1766; Francis Asbury (1745-1816) was sent over by Wesley in 1771; in 1773 the first Methodist Conference in America met in Philadelphia. But there was a scarcity of Anglican clergymen in America. There had been no bishops in the colonies, and candidates had been obliged to go to England for ordination. During the Revolution ordinations of Episcopal clergymen for America practically ceased. When the Revolution ended, therefore, John Wesley and Thomas Coke, another ordained clergyman of the Church of England, ordained two men for work in the United States. Immediately afterwards Coke himself was set apart as "superintendent" for America. On arriving in America, these men ordained Asbury, and before the end of 1784 the Methodist Episcopal Church was formally organized at Baltimore. In the course of a few years the original "superintendents" came to be known as bishops. The assumption by Wesley of the right to ordain ministers was a definite break with the Church of England, and once the break had been made, Wesley continued to ordain men, first for other British possessions, and finally for England itself. At the same time with the first ordinations, he completed the Methodist church organization by vesting in the General Conference all the authority which he had personally exercised over the preachers and the societies.[8]

Methodism in America

[8] How great that authority had been may be seen from the following statement of the first Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America, "During the life of the Rev. Mr.

Thus the Methodist movement, originally intended to be only a revival within the Church of England, resulted during the life-time of its founder in the creation of a new Protestant church of a distinctly pietistic type, marked by evangelistic fervor and missionary zeal. Its first great field of activity was America, where it has grown up with the country and become one of the world's foremost religious forces.

But the Methodist movement had other results. Not all of the men who were affected by Wesley's revival withdrew from the established Church. There were many of them who felt, as did the Wesleys themselves for many years, that it was possible to remain within the Church of England and live a truly godly and Christian life. These men were found in increasing numbers among the clergy. They formed a new party within the English Church, where they were known as "evangelicals." The things that interested them were the same that interested the Wesleys, but they did not follow Wesley's methods or adopt, or connect with, his organization. English evangelicalism, like German pietism, became a spirit, an influence working against the spirit of rationalism, on the one hand, and of worldliness on the other. It conceived of religion as an experience of the present power of God, not as a set of intellectual propositions or of moral maxims. It might run out, as it frequently did, into emotional excesses; its view of the Christian life might be hard and legalistic, as was Wesley's own; but behind it was

The Evangelicals

Wesley, we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters of church government to obey his commands." Buckley, *Methodists*, p. 242.

a deep sense of the reality of religion. Its appeal to the intellectual side of men's nature might not be very great, but it spoke to their consciences and satisfied the longings of their hearts for peace and communion with a living and loving God.

The vital power of the evangelical revival was demonstrated in the rise of new forms of Christian and humanitarian activity. William Wilberforce (1759-1833), whose life was devoted to the abolition of slavery; John Howard (1726-90), the great reformer of the British prisons, and Robert Raikes (1735-1811), the founder of the modern Sunday school, were all laymen who were under strong evangelical influence, and this same influence was largely responsible for the beginnings of the great movement of Protestant foreign missions.

Foreign Missions

The early Protestants were little interested in the conversion of the heathen. Their problems were local and national. Protestantism had come into existence through a series of national upheavals, and the Protestants had formed state-churches. For religion within their own states they felt a heavy responsibility, for religion outside their own states, little or none. The Protestant states were not, at first, colonial powers. Their subjects were already Christians, at least in name. The rulers of nations that had heathen subjects had to bear the responsibility for making them Christians.

With the Roman Church it was otherwise. Spain and Portugal were the first of the powers to acquire colonial possessions, and into their colonies the missionaries went, along with the explorers and the con-

querors. The pioneers in this work were the friars of the Franciscan and Dominican orders, but even during the sixteenth century their efforts in this field were surpassed by those of the Jesuits. The Counter-reformation, with its revival of zeal for the old Church, carried the missionary activity of the Roman Church to its highest point. Spanish America was their first great field, and the entrance of the French into North America opened another. Before 1700 the possessions of France and Spain on this side the Atlantic were also the possessions of the Roman Church. Meanwhile the Jesuits were at work for the Christianization of Asia. The Portuguese possessions in India gave them a foothold, and in 1543 Francis Xavier began his spectacular career as a preacher of the Gospel to the people of India. After six years of labor there, he went on to Japan, where he laid the foundation for a Japanese Church, which numbered, by 1600, not far from half a million souls, though it was afterwards entirely destroyed. He died in 1552, while on the way to China. Twenty years later another Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, with his fellow-Jesuit, Adam Schall, made the beginning of a Chinese Church which has continued to the present day.

Roman Missions

When the Protestant powers began to have colonial possessions, they too entered upon foreign mission work. In the middle of the seventeenth century John Eliot began preaching to the Indians of Massachusetts. In 1705 the king of Denmark sponsored the first Protestant mission to India. The first missionaries were Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plütschau, both

Protestant Missions

Germans. Danish support was not long continued, but the work was carried on by men sent out from the Franckean institutions at Halle.* Francke's own interest in this mission was very deep, and through his friend and pupil, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, court-preacher in London, he secured for it considerable English interest and support. In 1732 the Moravians began mission-work in the Danish West Indies, and also in Greenland, where, however, they had been preceded by the Norwegian, Hans Egede.

All of these early Protestant enterprises were relatively feeble. The missionaries were few and there was not behind them any great home organization to provide material support and a steady flow of men into the mission-fields. It was the evangelical revival which thoroughly awakened England to the missionary responsibility of the Church, and it was this English interest, communicated to the continent of Europe and to America, which opened the way to the great missionary developments of the nineteenth century. The awakening showed itself in the establishment of a number of societies for missionary purposes. Two such societies, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1699) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701) were, indeed already in existence, but their purposes were chiefly the dissemination of Christian literature and the planting of churches for the colonists in America. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England was organized in 1749, to support Eliot's work among the Indians, and the end of the century witnessed the formation of three great new societies

* See above, p. 314.

for the support of Christian missions of a more general character. The first was the Baptist Mission Society (1792). Its founder was William Carey (1761-1834), a shoemaker by trade, who became a Baptist preacher and finally the great pioneer of Protestant missions in India. In 1795 came the London Missionary Society, originally composed of "dissenters who practice infant-baptism," but soon under Congregationalist control. Its first missionaries, twenty-nine in number, were sent in 1796, to Tahiti. The third society to be organized was the Church Missionary Society (1799), an Anglican association for the same purposes. The model of these English societies was followed in America (American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810) and on the Continent (Basel Missionary Society, 1815). Thus the beginning was made of the great enterprises in Protestant foreign missions, which have engaged so large a part of the activity and interest of the churches in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Hand in hand with the development of foreign missions went the movement for the wider circulation of the Scriptures. The Canstein Bible Institute, founded in 1704 at Halle, in connection with Francke's institutions, was the pioneer in this field. The British and Foreign Bible Society (1804) and the American Bible Society (1815) became, with other similar societies, the means of circulating the Scriptures in many languages. Their work came to the aid of the missionaries, one of whose first tasks in every new field was the translation of the Bible into the language of the people.

Bible Societies

CHAPTER XXVII.

Roman and Greek Catholicism to the End of the XIX Century

A. The Roman Church

By the end of the seventeenth century the Counter-reformation[1] had spent its force. It had raised the Roman Church from the prostration of the middle sixteenth century to new heights of power. Northern Europe had not been won back to Rome, but in Spanish, French and Portuguese America Rome had a new domain, larger than the whole of Europe. At the courts of the Catholic kings, in Vienna, in Paris and Madrid, the power of the papacy seemed as great as it had ever been. But Rome was unable to adapt itself to the new life of Europe, and the eighteenth century was a period of decline.

For one thing, Rome came into new conflicts with the ruling monarchs. The tendency of government in the eighteenth century was toward absolutism. Louis XIV (1643-1715) and Louis XV (1715-74) in France, and Maria Theresa (1740-80) and Joseph II (1780-90), in Austria, carried this tendency to its farthest point. Their claim to absolute rule carried with it the claim of a right to govern the Church in their own lands. It was cloaked under the demand that

Conflicts with Rulers

[1] See above, Chapter XXIV.

the French and Austrian churches should be self-governing, and this the popes were unwilling to allow. The result was a series of sharp conflicts, in which the authority of the popes was seriously weakened.

The changes in ways of European thought[2] were without deep influence on the official doctrine or the practice of the Roman Church, although these changes were affecting the educated classes all over Europe. The resolve of the Roman Church not to be moved by any of them was apparent from its treatment of the Jansenists in France.

Jansenism

About 1630 Cornelius Jansen (1585-1638) and Jean du Vergier (1581-1643) had begun an attempt to reform the Church. Jansen had opposed the teachings of the Jesuits and demanded a return to the pure Catholicism of St. Augustin; du Vergier had worked for a recognition of the rights of bishops against the theory of papal sovereignty. After their death, Antoine Arnauld (1612-94) had carried on their efforts. In 1655 the Jesuits had secured the condemnation of the Jansenists by the pope, but Louis XIV had found their theories useful to him in his own disputes with the papacy, and had protected them. In Blaise Pascal (1623-62) they had had a brilliant literary champion. In 1709 the controversy between Jesuits and Jansenists broke out anew. It was provoked by the publication of repeated editions of the French *New Testament with Moral Reflections,* by Pasquier Quesnel (1634-1719), a Frenchman living in the Netherlands. In 1713 the Jansenists were again condemned at Rome,

[2] See above, p. 316 ff.

and this time it suited the king's policy to enforce the condemnation. The strength of the movement may be inferred from the fact that twenty bishops and three theological faculties, under the lead of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris (Noailles), protested against the bull in which Jansenism was condemned. When their protest proved unavailing, however, they conformed to the will of king and pope.

The repression of Jansenism was only one more evidence of the power of the Society of Jesus, which controlled all the machinery of the Church, and ill-will against that great order was steadily rising during the whole first half of the eighteenth century. The kings resented its constant interference in political matters and the men of the Enlightenment[3] hated it because it stood for the things to which they were most bitterly opposed. As time went on, it became apparent that the power of the Jesuits within the Church must cease. In 1759 they were driven out of Portugal, in 1764 out of France, in 1767 out of Spain. Pope Clement XIII (1758-69) endeavored to protect them, but only succeeded in bringing the national governments close to a decisive break with Rome. His successor, Clement XIV (1769-74), signed, in 1773, the breve which abolished the Jesuit order. The order continued to exist, however, in Russia and in Prussia, whose rulers were not Romanists.

The Suppression of the Jesuits

At the end of the eighteenth century the French Revolution shook the Roman Church to its foundations. The life of the Roman Church in France was

[3] See above, p. 322 ff.

entwined so closely with the life of the State, that when the uprising came, the Church was, for a time, completely submerged. Even before the Revolution, in 1787, the king had proclaimed general religious toleration in France, but that did not satisfy the revolutionary party. In 1789 all the church-property in France was confiscated to the government, and in 1791 the Church in France was given a new constitution which all priests were required to sign. Those who refused were driven from the country and 40,000 of the French clergy left their native land. In 1793, the National Convention adopted a law abolishing Christianity in France, only to find that it had gone too far, and to restore some measure of religious liberty in 1795. The pope himself (Pius VI, 1775-99) felt the hand of the revolutionaries, for when the Revolution spread to Rome, in 1798, he was seized and sent to France, where he died in prison.

The French Revolution

The rise of Napoleon Bonaparte to supreme power in France was the beginning of a reorganization of the French Church. By an agreement with the pope (the *Concordat,* 1801) and a new constitution (the *Organic Articles,* 1802), the Roman Church was given a recognized place in France as "the religion of the great majority of citizens." The State secured a deciding voice in the choice of bishops and agreed to support both them and the parish-clergy; the Church, on the other hand, was excluded from all political activity. After the fall of Napoleon (1814), the Concordat and the Articles remained in force and continued to be the church-law in France until 1905.

The effect of these events in France was felt

throughout Catholic Europe, especially in Italy, in Austria and in the Catholic portions of Germany. This was due in part to a sympathy with the French Revolution, which alienated certain elements of society from the Church, and in part to the conquests of Napoleon. Wherever he established his rule, he did his utmost to deprive the Church of political power. In 1809 he put an end to the pope's rule over the city of Rome and other parts of Italy, and for a time, in 1812-13, he held the pope a prisoner in France. When the Napoleonic wars ended (1815), the Roman Church found itself divested of large lands and endowments in many parts of Europe, stripped of the political privileges that it had enjoyed, and deprived of the religious monopoly which it had had in many states. In an external way the eighteenth century seemed to have brought the Church to the verge of impotence, but the real advantages of this humiliation ultimately outweighed all the losses, and the nineteenth century was a time of swift recovery of power.

It began when the Congress of Vienna (1815) restored to the pope the States of the Church, which Napoleon had taken away. Even before that, in 1814, the pope had re-established the Society of Jesus. By a series of treaties, or concordats, the papacy managed to acquire a new legal status in many of the European lands. But that which gave the upward movement its real strength was the new devotion that was called forth by the disasters which the Roman Church had suffered. All over Europe there was a sharp reaction against the spirit of the Revolution, with its frank hostility to religion. The release of the Church from

Roman Recovery

its close relations to the Catholic States, especially to France, made men begin to think of Rome as a religious, rather than a political power. This was combined with a growing reaction against the rationalism of the Enlightenment, which was thought to have produced the Revolution. Among the most highly educated classes a new intellectual movement was arising. Romanticism[4] was taking the place of rationalism. If the eighteenth century was the age of reason, the early nineteenth was the age of imagination. This imagination gave men a new appreciation of the past, though its view of the past was distorted. Everything old was idealized. And the Roman Church was unquestionably old. Its history ran back in an unbroken line for almost seventeen hundred years, and men whom rationalism had failed to satisfy and who were groping after some external authority which might guarantee religious teaching and offer resistance to violent changes in society began to take refuge in that church. Converts began to come in. The most striking case of this kind was the Oxford Movement, in which more than one hundred and fifty clergymen of the Church of England went over to the Church of Rome, under the leadership of John Henry Newman.[5]

From the beginning, this upward movement, showed a tendency to exalt the papacy. The place over the Church, which the popes claimed, had always been disputed. The bishops, especially, had always fought for some measure of independence, and from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century they had had some

[4] See above, p. 325.
[5] See below, Chapter XXIX.

support from national rulers. There had been times when the Roman Church was actually little more than a federation of national churches giving formal recognition to the superiority of Rome. But in the opening nineteenth century that national support was gone. The bishops and other clergy were compelled, in self-defence, to draw more closely around the papal chair. The old pretensions of the papacy to unlimited spiritual power were revived. A party arose in France, advocating anew this theory of Roman sovereignty. Its adherents went to the length of claiming that in matters of doctrine the pope's decisions must infallibly be true. The newly re-established Jesuit order espoused this theory and headed every effort to put it into effect. This party received the name of "ultramontane," supporters of a sovereignty "beyond the mountains," *i.e.*, the Alps.

Ultra-Montanism

As the nineteenth century advanced, the ultramontanes gradually gained ascendency over all other parties in the Roman church, and the long pontificate of Pius IX (1846-78) witnessed the complete triumph of their policies and ideas. Their claim was that "the pope is the supreme, infallible, and therefore, only, authority in everything that concerns religion, church, customs and morals."[6] In 1854, the pope, acting on this theory, assumed the right to decide a question of doctrine that had been for centuries a subject of dispute within the Roman church. It had been so sore a point that even the Council of Trent had not ventured to touch it. In the bull *Ineffabilis deus,* he de-

The Immaculate Conception

[6] Döllinger, *Kleine Schriften,* p. 221.

clared, "The doctrine which holds that the Blessed Virgin Mary was, from the moment of her conception, by the singular grace of God, . . . preserved free from every taint of original sin, has been revealed by God, and is therefore to be firmly and constantly believed by all the faithful." By this action the pope aligned himself with the Jesuit theologians, who were the chief advocates of his right to make such a decision.

The Vatican Council of 1869-70 made the ultramontane theory the dogma of the Roman church. On July 18, 1870, by a vote of five hundred and thirty-three to two, the council passed the decree of papal infallibility. It declared: "The Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra* (*i.e.*, "from the throne"), that is, when in the discharge of his duty as the pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme authority, he defines a doctrine concerning faith or morals to be held by the universal church, is possessed, by virtue of the divine assistance promised him in the Blessed Peter, of that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed that His church should be endowed." The decree is carefully and shrewdly drawn. It seems to make the pope infallible, but when carefully read it is seen to ascribe to him only a limited infallibility, which is said to belong to him only in certain circumstances. No pope since 1870 has ever been foolish enough to declare that he is meeting the conditions under which his utterance must be infallible. Nevertheless, those who accept the authority of the Roman Church must see in every papal utterance a statement that comes from one who may be infallible and who never says, regarding any case, that just now he is not.

Infallibility

But papal infallibility was only one plank in the ultramontane platform. The party stood for the complete exclusion from the Roman church of every modern idea. The Syllabus, issued by Pius IX in 1864, condemned eighty false opinions, including among them many of the leading ideas of the modern world. The Vatican Council re-enacted all the decrees of the Council of Trent,[1] and in 1879, Leo XIII (1878-1903) began his pontificate by formally declaring Thomas Aquinas the chief theologian of the church. On the record of its own official actions the Roman church is today a modern survival of the Christianity of the Middle Ages, against which the Reformation was a protest.

The triumph of ultramontanism at the Vatican Council did seem, at the time, to be premature. Both before and after the council, it had vigorous opposition within the Roman Church itself. A small, but influential party, under the leadership of Ignaz Döllinger (1799-1890), had set itself against the entire ultramontane program and refused to accept the doctrine of papal infallibility. Döllinger was excommunicated in 1871 and his sympathizers formed the so-called "Old Catholic" church. Their movement failed, however, to develop any great strength, and the Old Catholics remain to the present time a mere sect. Toward the end of the century, a new movement, opposed to ultramontanism, came into existence. In France, in Italy, and in some of the other European countries, certain of the leaders of Catholic thought began to show a hospitable attitude toward modern scientific and religious

Old Catholics and Modernists

[1] See above, p. 283 f.

scholarship. The rapid growth of this party led, in 1907, to the publication by Pius X of a new Syllabus. In this syllabus, and in an encyclical letter of the same year, the pope condemned "modernism" in all its phases, and asserted the determination of the papacy to keep the Roman Church true to its medieval inheritance. Even the papal authority has not availed, however, to kill the movement, though especially in Germany the syllabus and the encyclical have caused a considerable number of withdrawals from the Roman Church.

The most conspicuous reverse which ultramontanism has suffered came in 1870. Two months after the decree of infallibility was adopted (September 30, 1870), the army of King Victor Emmanuel II captured the city of Rome and annexed it, together with the other States of the Church, to the kingdom of Italy. Thus the career of the popes as temporal rulers came to an end. Thenceforth they were rulers only of the Vatican, and from the Vatican no pope has since come forth after his consecration, except to enter the adjoining church of St. Peter. This action of the Italian government was felt to be a severe blow to papal sovereignty. The Council entered a solemn protest against it and the pope laid the king of Italy under excommunication. Nevertheless the ending of the temporal power strengthened, rather than weakened, the papacy. It diminished the pope's political importance, but it freed his hands from the tasks of temporal government and allowed him to devote himself to his purely religious duties, and for the first time in a thousand years the papacy became a completely international institution.

Thus the papacy entered the twentieth century a vastly stronger institution than it had been a hundred years before. With a closely-knit organization covering the whole Christian world, with millions of members believing that only through the ministrations of this church they can attain salvation, with a corps of trained diplomats and statesmen seeking to advance its interests by every possible means, and with an army of clergy and other "religious" ready to take orders from their superiors in the organization, it works unweariedly at one great task—the submission of the world to the moral and religious authority of Rome, which means the subjecting of mind and will and conscience to the rule of the "Holy Father," who is himself the mouthpiece of a gigantic institution, claiming divine authority on earth.

B. The Orthodox Church.

The history of the Eastern churches after the Mohammedan conquests is to most Westerners a sealed book. They know that there are some millions of Christians in Eastern and Northeastern Europe and in the Near East. They know that the churches to which those Christians belong have had a continuous existence for many centuries, and that they have peculiarities of belief and piety which make them different from the churches of the West. But beyond these few facts the knowledge of Westerners usually does not go.

The definite separation between the Eastern and Western Churches took place in 1054.[8] The Eastern

[8] See above, p. 128.

Church was Greek. It was organized around the patriarch of Constantinople. Its strongholds were the countries ruled from that city by the East Roman emperor. It had off-shoots in Mohammedan lands—in Egypt and in Palestine. It had a strong new branch in Russia. But in life and organization it was closely tied to the Empire of the East. Its fortunes ebbed and flowed with those of the Empire.

The Westward movement of the Turks, in the later fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, gradually wore the Eastern Empire down to a shadow. In 1453 Constantinople fell into Moslem hands and was taken by the Turks for their own capital. And still the Turks moved westward, conquering the Balkans and the whole of Greece. Thus all the lands where the Eastern Church was strong came to be Moslem territory. The change of rulers was disastrous to the Church. It was not severely persecuted, but it was made subject to the Moslem rulers. It became the church of the conquered and the oppressed and had no other rights than those which the followers of Mohammed were willing to grant it. Thus it ceased to have a real history. It still kept its organization: it had its patriarchs at Constantinople, at Antioch, at Alexandria; its priests still ministered to their people in the towns and villages. But within such a subject-church there are no great movements, either of thought or life. The most that it could do for centuries was to hold itself together and await the dawn of some new day.

The Mohammedan Conquests

The nineteenth century brought the first signs of that new day to Eastern Europe. They came with

the gradual break-up of the Turkish Empire. Between 1821 and 1829 Greece won its independence, and after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78 the Balkan States were free. Serbia became an independent kingdom in 1882, Roumania in 1881, Bulgaria, partially independent after 1878, became a kingdom in 1908, Bosnia and Herzegovina became dependencies of Austria in 1878. These new States were officially Christian and the official church of most of them was the Eastern, or "Holy Orthodox Church." The winning of political freedom in these lands was followed by declarations of religious independence from the patriarch of Moslem Constantinople. Greece showed the way by forming its own church-organization in 1833. Serbia followed in 1879, Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1880, Roumania in 1885. Each of these churches had its own patriarch and administered its own affairs. The Holy Orthodox Church came at last to consist of fifteen or sixteen national churches, each independent of, but in communion with, the others, and all agreeing on the main points of Christian doctrine and church-practice. Looked at from the Western viewpoint it is still an undeveloped church, as the nations in which it is found are undeveloped nations. The great movements which have swept over Western Christendom in the last six or seven hundred years have scarcely touched its life. The questions that have divided Western Catholic from Western Protestant have not arisen in the lands where it is. The people to whom it ministers still stand, for the most part, on a lower plane of culture than the people of Western Europe and America; it

The Break-up of the Moslem Empire

is only the highest social classes and the small minority of the highly educated who have been deeply influenced by the life of the world outside. In judging them we must remember the four centuries of Mohammedan rule that lie immediately behind them. In these circumstances, then, the Eastern Church clings with devotion to its ancient creeds and to forms of worship which seem to Westerners to border on idolatry, and yet, within these forms it fosters a deep mystical piety, which shows the presence of a real Christian faith.

In this group of national churches the strongest has long been the Church of Russia. Russia was the only land in which the Eastern Church was settled that never came under the Turkish yoke. In the darkest days through which the Eastern Church had to pass, it was the Russian Church which gave it strength. The complete story of the conversion of Russia to Christianity will probably never be known. Its beginnings reach back to a time when the Russians had no written history. We do know, however, that it was Vladimir the Great (980-1015) who placed the Church in Russia upon a firm foundation. He was Prince of Kiev and the real founder of the first Russian Empire. He accepted Christianity in 987 and his people followed him, much as the Frankish people had followed Clovis, five hundred years before. The new Russian Church, thus founded, was supplied with priests and teachers from Constantinople, and the first Russian Empire, taking its religion from the Greeks took with it Greek art and culture.

The Church in Russia

This first Russian Empire was of short duration.

It was torn by internal dissensions and the ambitions of local and tribal chiefs, and then came Genghis Khan. Heading a vast horde of the same people who had followed Attila into the Roman Empire in the fifth century, Genghis Khan pushed westward from Siberia and Manchuria, overrunning all of Russia, and coming, in 1241, to the borders of Hungary and Poland. The Mongol Empire, of which he was the founder, reached by the year 1300 from China to Poland, and over the whole of Northern Asia. The Mongols did not populate this country, but ruled it chiefly through native princes, who paid them tribute and enforced their laws. For two hundred years Russia was under this Mongolian lordship, and the Greek civilization, which Vladimir the Great had introduced, was practically destroyed.

The Mongols

In the fifteenth century the Mongol power was waning, and a new Russian Empire began to rise. Its center was not Kiev, as before, but Moscow. Its first great ruler was Ivan III (1462-1505), who took the title of Czar. His wife was a Greek princess, daughter of the last emperor of the East, and the title which he assumed suggested that he looked upon the new Russian Empire as the successor of the Empire that had died at Constantinople in 1453. From the beginning of this new empire, it was a Christian power and the Church was closely linked with the State. Indeed, the pattern of the East Roman Empire, in which the Church was the religious department of the State, was followed by all the czars. In 1589 the Russian Church got its own patriarch at Moscow and ceased to pay any obedience to the patriarch of Constanti-

The New Empire

nople. But the patriarchate of Moscow lasted only a little more than a hundred years. In 1702 Peter the Great (1689-1725) reorganized the Russian Church, and placed it under the "Holy Synod" an executive board of bishops and priests, appointed by the Czar and presided over by a lay "procurator," who was the Czar's official representative. Thus the Russian Church was fitted into the governmental system, of which it became, in fact if not in name, a part.

When, during the later nineteenth century, the imperial government became the object of revolutionary attack, the Church was regarded by the revolutionaries as the great bulwark of political and social privilege, and received its full share of the hatred that was directed against the government. The revolution of 1916-17, which overthrew the government and brought Russia under socialistic rule, brought upon the Church a bitter persecution, from which it has not yet been fully relieved.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Protestant Churches of Europe in the XIX Century

The distinguishing feature of the nineteenth century was the international character of its civilization. Its great mechanical and scientific discoveries revolutionized the life of all civilized peoples. The telegraph and the telephone, the steamship and the steam railway drew the peoples of the western world ever closer together. Commercial progress, which came with the increased ease in transfer of commodities from one country to another, made the whole western world one single mart of trade, into which the East was rapidly being drawn. Advances in education made thought and scholarship international. These things affected profoundly the life of the Church. They changed the conditions under which its members were living and set new problems for practical Christianity. They enlarged men's ideas of the world and opened whole new continents to the missionaries of the Gospel. There was no single land in which the Church was not affected in some degree by the things that were happening and the ideas that were arising in other lands.

The XIX Century

A. Christian Thought and Theology.

The deepest influences that affected Christian thought in the nineteenth century came out of Germany. At the beginning of the century rationalism

was still in possession of the German universities, though it was already beginning to give way before the new philosophy. Immanuel Kant had undermined its foundations with his examinations into the limits of the human reason. Romanticism was laying new emphasis on the traditions of the past and discrediting the exaggerated modernism of the day. C. F. W. Hegel (1770-1831) completed the destruction of the older rationalism by his theory of development. To him all life and history appeared as the working out, through struggle, of the one absolute truth, which he identified with God. In God all that is rational and all that is above reason find their unity. Thus the philosophers were destroying the edifice of "natural religion," which philosophers had built.

The Decay of Rationalism

More influential than any of the philosophers was Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1831). Kant had made religion a matter of the will; the older rationalists had made it a matter of knowledge; Schleiermacher declared that both were wrong. He defined religion as feeling, the feeling of absolute dependence. But absolute dependence must be dependence on the Absolute, *i.e.*, upon God. Christianity he defined as that form of this feeling of dependence in which all else is related to the consciousness of salvation through Christ. He held that Christ's saving power consists in His ability to lift those who believe in Him into that full consciousness of dependence upon God which He Himself possessed. By this teaching he gave Christian thought a new starting-point, and became the founder of a new modernism, equally removed from rationalism

Schleiermacher

on the one hand, and from the older orthodoxy on the other.

Meanwhile, still another influence was working in Germany against the older rationalism. In the early nineteenth century that country experienced a religious awakening not unlike that which had laid hold upon England in the Methodist revival of the eighteenth century. It was a popular movement. It affected, first and chiefly, the middle and lower classes. It brought into new prominence those elements in religion which the rationalists had neglected or made light of. It laid new emphasis on the experience of sin and salvation, and created a new pietism. For this warmer, fuller religious consciousness, rationalism had no message. It was too cold, too superficial. Men harked back, therefore, to earlier forms of Christian thinking. The ideas of Spener and Francke made a stronger appeal to this awakened generation, than did those of Semler and his disciples.

The Religious Awakening

The religious awakening was closely connected with the revival of German national feeling after the Napoleonic wars. The conquests of Napoleon and the European settlement reached at the Congress of Vienna (1815) left Germany helpless. It was prostrate economically and impotent politically. Suffering and distress were widespread, and the revival of religion was due, in no small measure, to this suffering and distress. When earthly props fall and temporal foundations crumble, men turn, almost perforce, to God. At the same time, there came a new increase of German patriotism. Under the leadership of Prussia, the German states entered upon that course

of political development which ended, a hundred years later, in the great war. This combination of religious and patriotic feeling soon found its way into the universities, where it took a powerful hold upon the students of theology, so that the preachers of the next generation were largely under the influence of the new pietism. Typical leaders in the movement were August Neander (1789-1850) and August Tholuck (1799-1877).

Among those whom the awakening affected, there were some, who, in characteristically pietistic fashion, cared little for the distinction between the older Protestant parties. They were ready for a combination of the Lutheran and Reformed churches on the basis of a common religious experience. These men found a rallying-point in the Prussian Union of 1817. There were others, on the contrary, who believed that the only hope for the Church lay in a return to the orthodox theology of the seventeenth century. The first great leader of this party was Claus Harms (1788-1855). In 1817, at the three hundredth anniversary of the Reformation, he published a new set of ninety-five theses, attacking rationalism with the same vigor that Luther had used against indulgences, and calling upon the Church to return to the pure doctrine of the Reformation-time. The theses aroused a violent controversy, in which more than two hundred books, large and small, were published, and the victory seemed, for the time, to rest with Harms' opponents. But the movement gradually gained strength. It, too, found its way into the universities and soon had important representatives among the professors of the-

The Revival of Orthodoxy

ology. Before 1860 it became the dominant school of religious thought in Germany. Among its leaders were E. W. Hengstenberg (1802-67), Adolf von Harless (1806-79), F. C. Vilmar (1800-68), F. D. Kliefoth (1749-1827), Franz Delitzsch (1813-90), and C. E. Luthardt (1823-1902). After the middle of the century, the University of Erlangen became the center of a new theological school, holding to the Lutheran Confessions, but attempting to develop, out of the Scriptures, a new confessional theology. The founder of this school was J. C. von Hofmann (1810-77) and his greatest disciple was F. H. von Frank (1827-94).

The religious awakening and the revival of orthodoxy completed the overthrow of the older rationalism in Germany. By the middle of the century it had practically disappeared. But in its place there arose a new kind of rationalistic thought. Two elements combined to form this new rationalism. The one was philosophical, derived from the speculations of the early nineteenth century; the other was historical, showing the influence of the general interest in the study of history awakened by romanticism. Both of these influences had met in Hegel, and it was the disciples of Hegel who formed the new, so-called "critical," school.

Its first important representative was David Friedrich Strauss (1808-74). In 1835 he published the first edition of his *Life of Jesus*, in which he asserted that many of the stories contained in the gospels were to be taken, not as narratives of fact, but as myths, or legends, embodying the religious feelings and ideas of the generation that produced them. The thing of lasting value

Strauss

in the Gospels he conceived to be the ideas, not the alleged history in which they were expressed. The only important effect which this theory produced was to set others to work upon the New Testament books, in the effort to establish their historical value. The leader in this new line of investigation was, at first,

Baur

F. C. Baur (1792-1860). He endeavored to apply Hegel's philosophy of history to the genesis of the New Testament. He proposed the theory that Christianity had had, in the beginning, a distinctly Jewish form; that there had then arisen a new kind of Christianity, which contained strong Gentile elements; and that finally, after a period of conflict between these two Christian types, they were combined in a third, "mediating" Christianity. All of these tendencies he believed that he could find in the New Testament—the Jewish in the Petrine books, the Gentile in the Pauline, the third tendency in the Johanine. He then proceeded to use the contents of the books as a criterion of their date and authorship. Most of the books ascribed to Paul must have been written by someone else, and the whole Johanine literature must be of late date and could not have come from the pen of John the Apostle.

Baur's whole scheme was artificial, and the contentions of his "New Tübingen School" are no longer taken seriously by anybody. But the proposal of these theories, combined with the earlier work of Strauss,

Historical Criticism

set new tasks for Christian scholarship. Baur's method, the "higher criticism," became fashionable, and the study of the Scriptures as historical documents became the chief occupation of the Church's scholars in

the later nineteenth century. The object of this study was to establish with certainty who the authors of the books really were, when they were written and what place they have in history. The study, which was at first applied only to the New Testament, was soon enlarged to include the Old Testament as well. It was accompanied by a thorough and painstaking study of the text of the Scriptures, which aimed to discover, by comparison of all available texts, just what the original wording of the Scriptures really was. The result was a vast literature about the Bible. It is safe to say that more books on the Bible, or on parts of it, have been written since 1875 than in all previous centuries together. Much of this literature has no permanent value. Much of it deals with theories that are already forgotten, or being forgotten. Much of it is purely negative, intended to overthrow ideas about the Scriptures that have been traditional among Christians. Nevertheless as a final result of all this labor the Bible-student of today can read his Bible in a text that is far nearer to the original than any that men had in the year 300, and that he has, to aid him in his study, a great mass of information about the times and places and circumstances in which the Scriptures arose such as no man of an earlier time has ever possessed.

Along with this new attention to the Scriptures as historical documents went a similar study of the history of Christianity and of the Church. New sources of information were uncovered, great collections of records were published, the lives of the heroes of the Church were investigated as never before. The Church's past was made the subject of criticism, as

well as of investigation, and received differing interpretation from the different theological schools. The whole movement was, in some respects, a part of the larger movement of historical research which started in the eighteenth century with the English skeptics, Hume and Gibbon, but its result has been to place at the disposal of the modern student vast stores of information about Christianity, in all phases of its existence, not available at any earlier time.

The struggle between the new confessional orthodoxy, on the one hand, and the remains of the older rationalism and the critical theology, on the other, produced, about the middle of the century, still another group of Christian thinkers. They were the so-called "mediating theologians." They were all more or less completely under the influence of Schleiermacher's ideas, and attached small importance to the historical differences between Lutherans and Calvinists. The most important member of this group was I. A. Dorner (1809-84), who was a vigorous defender of the Prussian Union. Their influence was neither widespread nor lasting.

It was otherwise with Albrecht Ritschl (1822-89). Starting as a disciple of Baur, Ritschl developed in a conservative direction, and in his greatest work, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation,* he proposed a new theological scheme which found many followers. Before the end of the century his disciples formed a well-marked group in Germany, England and America, and Ritschlianism had become the great competitor of orthodoxy within the German Church. The general tendency of the Ritschlians is to regard the Scriptures

Ritschl

as sources from which to learn the state of mind of their writers, rather than as records of permanent truth. The state of mind with regard to God and Christ, which the Scriptures thus reveal, is genuine, authentic Christianity. The "natural religion," of which the rationalists had made so much, is not Christian at all; and philosophy always tends to obscure, rather than clarify, the Gospel. The Christian experience of justification and reconciliation is one that all Christians share, and this common possession is the bond that holds the Church together. The Scriptural records may or may not be true to facts, as facts, if they are true as inner experiences, they are true for believers. The most distinguished later representatives of this school are Wilhelm Herrmann and Adolf von Harnack.

Toward the end of the century, still another tendency began to make itself felt in German theology, and has had a growing influence upon Protestant thought, both there and elsewhere. It has arisen out of the study of comparative religions. This study received its first great impulse from Schleiermacher, and was fostered by the results of the critical attention that was given to the ancient religions, in connection with the study of Biblical origins. It was greatly furthered, also, by the new acquaintance with living forms of heathenism which the great foreign mission activity of the century brought with it. Out of it has arisen a school of teachers who deny the absolute truth of Christianity, emphasize its resemblances to other religions, especially those of the time when it arose, and treat it as merely the highest and best develop-

Comparative Religion

ment of the general religious consciousness of the race. It was only at the very end of the century that this school was becoming influential, and its influence has been carried on into the century in which we live.

All of these thought-movements were of German origin, and their result was to produce, within the German churches, a great variety of religious opinion. The churches were divided into parties, all working within the churches, and all subscribing to the historic doctrinal standards of their churches, though oft-times teaching doctrines that flatly contradicted those standards. In a doctrinal sense, the churches of Germany ceased to have any unity. This result was not confined to Germany alone. The writings of its leading theologians were translated into other languages and found readers everywhere in the Protestant world. Students from many lands visited the German universities and imbibed all the tendencies that were there at work. The Scandinavian churches were divided just as the German churches were, and the same divisions were becoming apparent, though in a different degree, in the churches of England, Scotland and America.

The movements that have been described arose within the churches. But while they were in progress, the center of the world's thought was shifting. Science and mechanical invention were transforming the conditions under which men lived, and raising new questions for the Church to answer. The first step in this great change was the discovery of the steam-engine. It introduced a new age in the world's history—the age of machinery. It made the steam railway and the steamship possible

New Conditions

and rendered transportation easy. Manufacturing on a large scale became a possibility, and the development of quantity-production drew the population into the towns and cities where the manufacturing was done. Thus a new industrial class was created, a class which sold its labor in the best market. This led, in turn, to an enormous increase in the power of the capitalists, whose wealth was invested in industrial plants. The discovery of practical uses for electricity stimulated this movement still farther.

Out of this new situation there arose a whole group of new problems. They had to do with the organization of society and the relations of one social group to the others. They were in part political, in part economic, but in the largest sense they were human problems, problems of right and privilege, and all such questions are, at bottom, moral. As moral problems they could not but have an interest for the Church, for to the Church a moral problem can never be anything else than a question of how to apply the Gospel to a particular case. Of the effects which these new conditions had upon the Church's life, we shall have something to say below. Here we are concerned to note that they affected Christian thinking. Men began to inquire about the meaning of the Gospel for communities and groups, instead of asking, as had been usual, about its meaning for individual men. Out of this inquiry there came a new emphasis on the social meaning of the Gospel. It can scarcely be said that this movement produced, during the nineteenth century, a "school" of thought, but it was influencing Christian thinkers everywhere.

Meanwhile, scientific knowledge was advancing. In

natural science men were finding a great new field for investigation and study. Physics, chemistry, and finally biology, came to absorb the interest of the class of students who once had been attracted to philosophy.

Darwin

All the attempts to unify the new knowledge of nature seemed to lead in one direction—toward the enlargement of the idea of natural law and the explanation of the universe as the playground of vast mechanical forces. In 1859 Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, in which he advanced the theory that the differences in the forms of life which are found in nature are due to a process of "natural selection," and that all the higher forms, including man, are here because of the survival, through adaptation to environment, of successive variations of lower forms. His work became the starting-point for the "theory of evolution." In its extreme form, this theory explains the universe in such a way that the existence of a God becomes unnecessary, save as He is regarded as the First Cause. Thus the doctrine tends to run out into a materialism which makes religion a mere delusion. This is the form which it has taken in the writings of the German, Haeckel. To the end of the nineteenth century, the intellectual problem which the scientific world-view raises for religious thought had not reached the acute stage which it has developed in the last twenty-five years. Its chief effect had been to alienate from the Church a considerable section of the intellectuals.

Of more importance to the Church, both in its life and in its thought, was another aspect of the scientific advance. Living became easier during the later years of the nineteenth century than it had ever been before.

The scientific development of the world's natural resources opened enormous, and apparently inexhaustible, stores of new wealth. This produced, among all the peoples of the world, a vivid interest in material things, which tended to shut out from their interests all those things which did not seem to minister to material prosperity and immediate happiness. This type of "materialism" was the prevailing mood of the later nineteenth century, and was carried over into the twentieth. It was to this mood that the "agnosticism," represented by such writers as Herbert Spencer and Thomas Huxley made its chief appeal. In Karl Marx, the founder of modern socialism, it took form in a highly developed social philosophy, resting upon a materialistic theory of society, with a program for social betterment, based on the notion that the possession of wealth is the highest good. In the European countries where this type of socialism was at home, it was hostile to the established churches and usually either agnostic or frankly atheistic. It was the same mood which gave birth to the opposite theory of Friedrich Nietzsche, which laid all emphasis upon the individual, and in its picture of the "super-man," treading down all weaker individuals before him, glorified the maxim that "might makes right." These were the forces against which the Church was contending when the century came to an end.

Materialism

Looking back over the thinking of the nineteenth century about religion, we see it as a welter of cross-currents. There is no one definite view of God and the world which dominates men's minds. The attempts to formulate such a world-view lack sobriety. They

are exaggerated, one-sided and dogmatic. Men's knowledge seems to have grown beyond their power to organize it. If one were to judge the Christianity of the nineteenth century by its literature alone, one would have to conclude that it was a period of deterioration, in which Christians were themselves not sure what it was, whither it was going, or even where it came from. This impression of hopeless confusion is due, in some measure, to our nearness to it. We do not yet see it in its true perspective. But there is one fact that should not be overlooked. All through the century it was evangelical Christianity that was in the ascendant. It made less noise, and therefore attracted less attention than the novelties in doctrine that were proposed as substitutes for it. It was modified at some points by the new thought of the age, social and scientific, and those modifications have been proceeding as the twentieth century has advanced, but it is still the most potent of all Christian forces, displaying its power especially in the enormous growth of missions and works of mercy.

Movements Affecting the Organization of the Churches.

I. Lutheran Lands.

1. *Germany.*

The internal history of the German churches during the nineteenth century was deeply influenced by the political and social changes which the century brought in that land. They were state-churches, governed by state-laws and dependent upon the states for material

support. After 1815, Prussia was firmly established as the political leader among these states, and the political history of Germany from 1815 to 1870 is largely the history of the Prussian effort to unite the states in a single government which Prussia would control. When that movement achieved its final success and the new German empire came into being (1871), Prussian ambitions were directed toward the extension of German influence into other parts of the world, especially into the East. These efforts were accompanied by an enormous economic expansion, which placed Germany among the foremost commercial powers of the world, and produced a great concentration of population in its manufacturing centers. This double line of German development—political and industrial—had a profound effect upon the state-churches.

State Churches

The establishment of the Prussian Union, in 1817, is an event of the first importance in the history of Protestantism in Germany. Two years earlier, the Congress of Vienna, had deprived the German states of the right to determine the religion of their subjects. The adherents of all Christian creeds were placed on a footing of legal equality, in all the states. In some of them, which had been partly Lutheran and partly Reformed, this led to great confusion, and to end the confusion the governments attempted to force a union of the two churches. In 1817 Frederick William III decreed such a union for his kingdom of Prussia, and issued, at the same time, a new liturgy for the use of all the congregations in the kingdom. The Union and the liturgy were, however, only a part of a far-reach-

The Prussian Union

ing plan for the complete re-organization of the Church. Its ultimate purpose was to place the Church under the direct control, not of the state, but of the king, who as head of both organizations would be the connecting-link between the two. The example of Prussia was followed by other states. Only a few of the smaller states attempted to unite their Protestant churches, but practically all of them adopted the new method of church-control. The state-churches were placed under the direction of "consistories," appointed by the rulers, and the rulers themselves became ex-officio heads of the churches.

The Union met with vigorous opposition, both in Prussia and elsewhere. It came at the very time when confessional Lutheranism was beginning to revive, and the Lutherans everywhere fought against the Union. In Prussia itself the opposition forced a modification of the original plan. After 1834, and still more after 1852, the Union became an administrative organization, within which the adherents of the two confessions lived and worked. A pastor in the Union might subscribe either the Lutheran or the Reformed confessions and instruct his young people in either of the two official catechisms, but he was compelled to admit to full membership in his congregation those who professed either of the two types of Protestantism. Even this modification, however, failed to satisfy the opposition. The "Old Lutherans," as they were called, could not reconcile it with their consciences to remain within a church which had two conflicting confessions of faith. In 1841, a group of these pastors formally renounced the Prussian state-church and founded the

The Old Lutherans

Evangelical Lutheran Church of Prussia, as a free church, entirely divorced from state-control, self-governing and self-supporting.

Outside of Prussia, the first effect of the Union was to stiffen the Lutheran state-churches in their adherence to the Lutheran confessions, and during the time when revived Lutheran orthodoxy was at its height the Union was condemned in all Lutheran circles. After 1870, however, the sentiment in other state-churches began to turn in the direction of unionism. This was due chiefly to two influences, the theological and the political. The theological influence was exerted through the new schools of thought which made light of the historical distinctions between Lutherans and Reformed, and regarded them as outlived. The political influence came with the formation of the German empire. The movement for the unification of the German states gave rise to a parallel movement for the unification of the state-churches and the formation of a single imperial state-church in which Lutherans and Reformed would be joined, as in the Prussian Union. This movement was especially strong during the early years of the present century, but its purpose was not achieved. On the other hand, the drift toward unionism created a reaction. Groups of Old Lutherans outside of Prussia, seceded from their state-churches and formed new organizations, free from state-control. By the end of the century there were five or six such free Churches in Germany, the largest of which was the Evangelical Lutheran Free Church of Saxony and Other States, founded in 1876.

The Growth of Unionism

During the later nineteenth century the German state-churches were rapidly approaching a critical period in their history. The socialistic movement was making rapid headway, especially among the working classes. The Marxian view that "religion is the opiate of the workers" was being preached along with the doctrine of "class-consciousness." The whole party was definitely committed to the fomenting of a revolution that would overthrow the existing form of government, on which the churches seemed to depend for their existence. It looked upon them as one of the chief bulwarks of the "privilege" which it was pledged to destroy. The intellectual classes were alienated for an altogether different reason. They looked upon the churches as the representatives of an outworn world-view. The growth of wealth and the cult of pleasure, which went with it, caused the life of large groups of the population to assume a distinctly pagan character, indifferent, if not antagonistic, to religion. In the face of these difficulties, the churches themselves were divided between conflicting schools of thought, conservative and liberal, making it impossible for them to stand unitedly for any one type of Christian truth. Because of their state-connections, too, they were unable to give any effective organization to the spiritual forces which they still contained. As a result, these spiritual forces found an outlet through all sorts of free societies, not organically connected with the churches, for Christian and humanitarian activity. These conditions remained essentially unchanged until the revolution of 1918.

Socialism and Materialism

2. *The Scandinavian Countries.*

The Lutheran churches of Scandinavia passed, during the nineteenth century, through a development similar to that which took place in Germany. They were deeply influenced by all the movements of German thought. When the century opened, they were under the influence of rationalism, but here, too, rationalism gave way before a new religious revival, which carried them back, for a time, to conservative religious teaching. As the new thought-movements arose in Germany, however, they spread rapidly into these smaller neighboring countries, and the confusion of the parties which marked German church-life at the end of the century was found in Scandinavia as well.

Their church-activities were less affected by changing external conditions than was the case in Germany. They were, to be sure, state-churches, but they were freer in their relation to the states than were the churches of Germany. The high-handed manner in which the kings of Prussia dealt with church-affairs had no parallel in the Scandinavian lands. The question of unionism, in the German sense, could not arise, because there was no Reformed minority with which the Lutherans could be united. The effect of the social movements of the latter part of the century was less marked than in Germany or in England, for the countries were smaller and the population was less dense. Great manufacturing centers could not arise and the social questions were, in consequence, less acutely felt.

Thus the churches of Denmark, Sweden and Nor-

way entered the twentieth century with their powers less impaired than any of the other state-churches of Europe. The liberal and conservative parties were, indeed, engaged in a struggle, the end of which is not even yet in sight. Methodist and Baptist missions from America had entered into competition with the established churches, but their results had been small. The spread of socialism had detached considerable numbers of the people, but even in this respect their situation was more favorable than in the other European countries.

II. GREAT BRITAIN.

1. *England.*

General Conditions

The Church of England, at the beginning of the nineteenth century was in a state of decline. The Methodist movement had taken out of it large numbers of the more earnest Christians and the total number of dissenters (Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians) was rapidly approaching that of the adherents of the state-church. Within the Church, the Low Church party, born in the evangelical revival, cultivated the same type of piety that was found among the Methodists. It counted among its members the most earnest and devoted souls in the Church of England; but the evangelical movement had lost its first impetus, and the Low Church party was not growing. The High Church party was chiefly concerned with the maintenance of the church-establishment. It laid more emphasis on regularity than on zeal or consecration. The clergy who belonged to it

were "kind and sociable men, advisors of the poor, counsellors of their flocks, and maintainers of the character of Christian gentlemen."[1] The strength of the High Church party was chiefly among the upper, that of the Low Church among the middle, classes. Both parties were, of course, within the established Church, which had far more liberty than the state-churches of the Continent, partly because of its looser connection with the State, and partly because of the freer spirit of the English Constitution.

Around the year 1830 two new movements arose which were to change the whole character of the Church of England. They were the liberal, or Broad Church, and the Anglo-Catholic, or new High Church, movements. Both of them were closely connected, in their origins, with the developments of contemporary thought. The Broad Churchmen were in sympathy with the liberal thought, which was looking toward the destruction of privilege and a democratic reform of social and political institutions; the High Churchmen were the extreme conservatives, who, in their efforts to preserve existing institutions, became the advocates of the more extreme forms of privilege. Both parties had been influenced by the French Revolution. The liberals regarded it as a blessing, despite its excesses; the conservatives thought of it as an outbreak of the powers of hell.

The most important early representative of the Broad Church tendency was Thomas Arnold (1795-1842). Himself a man of deep personal piety, he despaired of any effectual reform of the Church of England. He believed that its case was hopeless; that

[1] Patterson, *History of the Church of England*, p. 401.

dissent would soon disappear because there would be nothing left to dissent from. The remedy that he proposed was to enlarge the Church of England in such a way as to bring all the dissenters within its fold. He recognized that this meant the breaking-down of many barriers. He was ready to give up the institutions and the doctrines that were the peculiar marks of the Church of England, and thus open the way for the inclusion of many men whose beliefs and practices differed very widely from those for which the English Church had stood. His *Principles of Church Reform* (1833) was the first important proposal for the kind of church-union that has become so popular in America in the twentieth century. It was far more sweeping than the proposals of the Prussian Union, for it contemplated the abolition of dividing-lines by the wiping out of distinctive doctrines and practices.

The Broad Church Movement

Arnold represented this Broad Church movement on its ecclesiastical side. On the intellectual side its most important early representative was Henry Hart Milman (1791-1868), the greatest church historian that the Church of England has produced. In the middle of the century this party numbered among its leaders men like Charles Kingsley (1819-75), A. P. Stanley (1815-81), F. D. Maurice (1805-72) and Benjamin Jowett (1817-93). In these men the Broad Church idea became more distinctly theological. They claimed the right to remain within the Church of England, even though their beliefs differed from the standards officially received by the Church. They formed a "moderate" group within the English church, dis-

tinctly liberal when contrasted with the new High Churchmen, but conservative when compared with the genuine "liberals" of Germany.

The Anglo-Catholic movement took a direction opposite to that of the Broad Church. It began with a group of Oxford scholars, who published their religious views, after 1833, in a series of brief papers entitled *Tracts for the Times.* It is therefore known sometimes as the Tractarian, sometimes as the Oxford Movement. These men recognized, as clearly as did Arnold, the dangers which threatened the Church of England. They saw with equal alarm the growth of dissent and the impotence of the established Church. But they deplored and feared the increasing power of liberal political opinion and the growth of radical democracy. They had already been affected by the Romantic movement, with its awakened historical sense and its glorification of the past. They believed that Arnold's remedy was worse than the disease, and therefore they proposed another. It was to re-establish the Church in the position of authority which it had had before the Reformation. This was to be done by recognizing the importance to the Church of those institutions which were believed to be of apostolic origin, especially the succession of bishops. By virtue of this succession, they believed, the Church possesses an authority which is quite independent of any beliefs which men may hold about it. As for doctrine, it is to be sought in the period of pure Christian teaching, which, they persuaded themselves, extended down to the time of the division between the Eastern and Western churches. Specifically, it was

The Anglo-Catholic Movement

the age of the great councils and the great fathers. The leaders in the movement were John Henry Newman (1808-90) and John Keble (1791-1866).

As the movement progressed it veered more and more toward the Roman church. The importance which was attached to external institutions, inevitably raised the question, "'Why not go to Rome?" All the things for which they were contending were found in that communion, and it had in the pope what the Church of England had not—a single seat of authority. In 1845, Newman finally took the step toward which his whole development had been leading, and entered the Roman church. His withdrawal had been preceded by some others, and was followed by many more. All told more than one hundred and fifty clergymen of the Church of England went over to the Church of Rome, including, in 1851, Henry Manning (1808-92), who, like Newman, ultimately became a cardinal.

After Newman's withdrawal, the leadership among the tractarians fell to E. B. Pusey (1800-82), who may be regarded as the real founder of the New High Church, or ritualistic, party. The more extreme representatives of this party accepted the entire theology of the medieval church, giving up the principles for which the Reformation had stood, because they did not regard them as "catholic." They accepted the seven sacraments, including auricular confession, and transsubstantiation. They reintroduced into the worship of the Church the ceremonies of the Roman mass. They maintained that the Church of England never had been Protestant, and that the true Church of Christ

The New High Church Party

has but three genuine branches—Greek, Roman and Anglican. From this extreme the High Church party shaded off by degrees to the evangelical, or Low Church, on the one hand, and the Broad Church, on the other. Viewed in a large way, the effect of the High Church movement upon the Church of England was beneficial. It steadied the Church and gave it backbone at a time when it was going to pieces. But the doctrines of the High Churchmen were just as clearly in conflict with the historic standards of the Church of England, as were those of the Broad Churchmen, and the Church of England in the twentieth century presents a spectacle of inclusiveness that comes far closer to the ideals of Arnold than to the "catholicity" of Newman.

The conflict between socialism and the Church was far less keen in England than on the continent of Europe. This was due in part to the slower growth of the socialistic movement, but partly also to the large influence of the dissenting churches. Their strength was chiefly among the middle and lower classes and during the whole century they more than held their own, in comparison with the Church of England. They are less in the public eye, but they contain, at the present time, at least one-half of the church-membership of the country. The Methodists are, numerically, the strongest of them, but the Baptists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians have a large membership. The lack of the large endowments and appropriations which help to support the established church, so far from being a handicap, is really an advantage to these churches, for it throws them completely on

The Free Churches

their own resources, and calls forth, in correspondingly larger measure, the activity and devotion of their own members. They are freer to develop their own life in response to the social movements of the time.

2. *Scotland.*

During almost the whole of the nineteenth century, the Scottish Church was torn by dissensions. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century there had been numerous withdrawals. The Secessionists (1740) and the Relief Church (1771) were Presbyterian sects, which protested against the connection between Church and State, and maintained orthodox Calvinistic doctrines, against the rationalism which had invaded the Church of Scotland.

Early in the nineteenth century Scotland experienced an evangelical revival, similar to those which England had had and which Germany was then having. It found its principal leader in Thomas Chalmers (1780-1847), who was the most important ecclesiastical figure that Scotland produced during the whole century. In 1843, under his leadership, more than four hundred of the evangelical clergy withdrew from the established Church and founded the Free Church of Scotland. Four years later, the Secessionists and the Relief Church combined to form the United Presbyterian Church. At the very end of the century (1900), the United Presbyterians and the Free Church were merged in a new organization, under the name of the United Free Church of Scotland, which had about the same numerical strength as the established Church.

Thomas Chalmers

A survey of nineteenth century developments in the Protestant countries of Europe shows that in all of them there were certain common movements. In all of them we find the older, eighteenth century rationalism met and overcome by an evangelical revival, with a reawakened sense for religious values, a new emphasis on the Christian experience of sin and salvation. This revival was followed everywhere by a return to earlier doctrinal teachings. In Germany and Scotland it was to the teaching of the Reformation and of the century after it that the return was made; in England the extreme conservatives went back to the time before the Reformation, and many of them went over to the Church of Rome. This reaction against rationalism was not lasting, for in all the countries it was followed by the gradual rise of liberal tendencies, which aimed to interpret Christianity anew in the light of a re-study of its history, of new knowledge of other religions, and of modern philosophy and modern science. These liberal tendencies created not one new party, but many. They had few common agreements, and the more conservative type of Christianity more than held its own.

Common Features of the XIX Century

Practical Movements Common to All Countries.

Beside these movements, there were three others, all of them of a practical nature, which profoundly affected the church-life of all the countries. Two of them developed such strength that they may even be regarded as the characteristic external features of

nineteenth century Christianity. The third was less important in the nineteenth century, but has made rapid headway in the last twenty-five years. These are, the expansion of missionary activity, the growth of works of mercy and the movement for church union.

I. THE MISSIONARY MOVEMENT.

The missionary movement was closely connected with the evangelical revival. The beginnings of Protestant missions go back to the early years of the eighteenth century. They had their root in German pietism. When pietism found expression in Moravianism, it was the Moravians who became the most zealous enthusiasts for foreign missions. But while the work of the Moravians was vigorous, it was small, and it was not until the very end of the eighteenth century that the real development of Protestant missions got under way. It was an outgrowth of the evangelical revival, and may be said to have opened with the organization of the three great English societies between 1792 and 1799.[3]

The enthusiasm, aroused in England, spread rapidly into other countries. The Edinburgh (now the Scottish) Missionary Society was formed in 1796, the Glasgow Society in the same year, the Netherlands Society in 1797. The Basel Missionary Society was begun in 1814, and the progress of the religious awakening in Germany was marked by the organization of four other similar societies in that land before 1836, while the missionary operations of the Moravian church were greatly enlarged. The organization of the

[3] See above, p. 336 f.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810) gave the United States its first missionary agency, and as the Protestant churches of America grew in strength, they poured an ever-increasing amount of man-power and of money into the foreign mission field.

As time went on, the work of the missionaries acquired vast importance apart from the purely religious results which it produced. The development of easier transportation brought the mission-fields nearer to the home-bases. The new trade relations between Europe and America, on the one hand, and the foreign mission lands, especially in Asia, on the other, made the missionaries an important link between the peoples. They became the medium through which Western ideas were introduced into the East and the interpreters of Eastern civilization to the peoples of the West. They became, at the same time, the pioneers of education, medical science, and even of industrial organization. All of this has had a tendency to secularize the work, and to obscure its purely spiritual aspects, but this tendency has been stoutly resisted. No other department of Christian work is cultivated with greater zeal, devotion and self-sacrifice, and no other receives larger support or enlists a more widespread interest.

The Development of Missions

II. WORKS OF MERCY.

The second great common development of the nineteenth century has been the devotion of the churches to new works of charity and mercy. The eighteenth century had witnessed an awakening of general inter-

est in all sorts of humanitarian enterprises: in the nineteenth century this interest was given a new motive and became a part of the work of the churches.

The most striking example of this new activity was the inner mission movement in Germany. It received its first great impetus from John Henry Wichern (1808-81), of Hamburg. His first great charitable institution, *das Rauhe Haus*, was established in 1833, and he planned the extension of similar work to other parts of Germany. His purpose was to plant institutions of mercy—orphanages, homes for the aged, etc.—not merely as humanitarian agencies for the relief of need and distress, but as testimonies to the Christian "faith that worketh by love." His program was taken up with enthusiasm, especially in evangelical circles, and in many places local inner mission societies were established. In 1836 Theodore Fliedner (1800-64) founded his first deaconess house at Kaiserswerth, for the training of Protestant "sisters" to be nurses in the hospitals and to care for the poor. By 1853 the inner mission work had attained sufficient growth that Wichern was able to organize the Central Committee for the Inner Missions of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, as a sort of clearing-house for the large number of local societies.

The Inner Mission Movement

This new work, like that of foreign missions, was done not by the organized churches, but by voluntary societies. The membership in these societies was both Lutheran and Reformed. This feature of the work was regarded with suspicion by some of the stricter Lutherans, who saw in it a threat of unionism, and in

1846 William Loehe (1808-72) founded at Neuendettelsau, in Bavaria, a Society for Inner Missions in the Spirit of the Lutheran Church, and four years later, another society for the support of the female diaconate. In connection with this work, he also organized a mission-school to provide pastors for German emigrants to America and Australia. In 1867 Frederick von Bodelschwingh (1831-1910) planted, at Bielefeld, the first of a group of charitable institutions which quickly came to have a place among the most useful and influential in Germany.

Wm. Loehe

During the whole period when the German churches were torn by dissensions and crippled by their connection with the states, the work of inner missions was assuming larger and larger proportions. It was especially valuable because it furnished the laity with a sphere of Christian activity which was denied them by the dominant officialdom of the state-churches. It was the greatest and finest thing which the German churches produced during the whole nineteenth century.

The beginning of English activity in this same field dates, generally speaking, from about the time of the Oxford Movement. The eighteenth century Methodists and evangelicals had, indeed, been interested in work of this kind. Wesley's orphanages and the great humanitarian work of William Wilberforce and John Howard had had a distinctly religious motive. But the new High Church clergy were far more active in works of mercy than their predecessors had been, and, largely for this reason, there was a corresponding development in non-

England

conformist circles. But in England the work scarcely assumed the form of an organized "movement." It appeared rather as a continuation of the humanitarian enterprises of the eighteenth century, informed with a new Christian motive and carried on as a regular part of the work of the Church, in which the laity had long had a more important place than in the Churches of the continent.

The work in England was given a unique turn by William Booth (1829-1912), in the founding of the Salvation Army. Booth had been a Methodist preacher, and the army was first organized for work in the slums of London, but it spread, after 1880, to the continent of Europe and to America. The aim of the army was, in part, charitable. It provided lodging and eating-houses, etc. for the utterly destitute, and this part of its work assumed really vast proportions as the sphere of the army's activity extended. But beyond this, the army had a spiritual aim. It worked for the conversion of the derelicts. The means used was the "revival," appealing to the emotions and seeking to bring about a spiritual crisis. While keeping the military form of organization, and administering no sacraments, the army ultimately became, to all intents and purposes, a new church. Even more important than the actual good which it accomplished was the stimulating influence that its activities exerted upon the regular churches, both in England and elsewhere.

The Salvation Army

III. CHURCH UNION.

The third important movement affecting all the European Churches in the nineteenth century was the

movement for church-union. Underlying this movement was the consciousness that the Protestant churches all had certain common possessions and certain common tasks. The extent of their common possessions did not become apparent until they found themselves working at common tasks. One of those tasks was the resistance of the steadily rising power of the Roman church, which, especially in Germany, was organized as a political party with increasing political power; while in the countries to the east of Germany the Protestants were a religious minority, maintaining themselves only with the utmost effort. The Gustavus Adolphus Society (1832) was an association for the fostering of Protestantism in these Roman lands. It worked with considerable effectiveness and paid little regard to the distinction between Lutheran and Reformed.

Common Tasks of Protestant Churches

A second common task was the evangelization of heathen lands. On the foreign mission field the missionaries of many churches were in continual contact. There were occasional conflicts, but their number was small as compared with the far larger number of cases in which the missionaries found themselves making a common front against heathenism. The establishment of missionary conferences, for the reduction of friction and duplication, was followed by the organization of similar conferences of home boards and societies, with the result that the home churches were drawn together more closely.

A third task at which all the churches were laboring was the work of mercy. In the work of inner missions the lines which divided the churches were being

crossed all the time, for these were matters of "practical Christianity," which did not seem to involve doctrinal and historical differences.

It was but natural that, when these common tasks were receiving the attention of all the churches, and a measure of co-operation had once been created, the question should arise, "If it is possible in these things, why not in others?" This led inevitably to the further question, "If the churches can co-operate, why can they not unite?" These questions were being agitated in many of the European churches during all the later years of the nineteenth century, and out of their discussion have come several movements for church-union. Among churches which have the same doctrinal basis and the same historical traditions the problem is relatively simple. Such was the problem that presented itself to the founders of the United Free Church of Scotland. But among others, such as the Lutheran and Reformed groups on the continent of Europe, and the Anglican and Non-conformist groups in England, it is far more difficult and complex, though the English Non-conformists have had, since 1893 a National Council of Free Evangelical Churches and the Protestants of Germany have formed (1921) a similar Alliance of Evangelical Churches.

Proposals for Union

The proposals for union that have come out of these movements are really of three kinds, those which propose the absorption of one church by another; those which propose a union for administrative purposes, disregarding distinctions in doctrine and practice; and those which propose a new organization based either upon an existing creed, or upon a new creed framed to

meet the needs of the present age. The first type of proposal is fairly represented by the propositions advanced by the Anglican bishops in repeated declarations of the Lambeth Conference, most recently in 1921. The second type has practical illustration in the Prussian Union, which is, at the same time, a warning. The third type has met with some acceptance among the reorganized state-churches of Germany, since the war. The doctrinal platforms on which some of these new union-churches stand have been so framed as to disregard the historical distinctions between Lutheran and Reformed. Of the prospects of success which these movements have, it is still too early to speak.

All the elements which entered into the church-life of the later nineteenth century have come from it into the century in which we are living. The war has had the effect of checking some of the nineteenth century movements and stimulating others. The distress that accompanies and follows war puts all institutions to the severest tests. It manifests their failures and reveals their weaknesses; but in so doing, it also shows the spots to which remedies may be applied. The success of the Church, as an institution, is measured, in any age, by its ability to satisfy the needs of which the men of that age are most deeply conscious. The generation just before the war was one that felt most keenly the need for wealth and the need for knowledge, but in the war materialism went bankrupt and science demonstrated that, if it is godless, it is the servant of hell. Our generation is reawakening to the consciousness of other, spiritual needs—the need

for atonement, the need for reconciliation with God, the need for consecration to God's purposes. It was because it satisfied these very needs that the Gospel of the first century made converts to Christ, and planted the Church. The twentieth century Church is awakening to the fact that this same Gospel of reconciliation and atonement must win its converts now. Only as it brings to men the "joy and peace of believing" will it find a hearing. But along with this need for reconciliation, there is another of which the present generation is acutely conscious. It is the need of a clearer understanding of the will of God for groups of men, for classes, for nations. To this understanding the Church must become a guide.

CHAPTER XXIX.

American Christianity

The church-life and institutions of America differ profoundly from those of other lands. The key to the understanding of these differences lies in the history of the churches and the nation. That history cannot be told in the brief limits of a single chapter. All that can be attempted here is a summary of the characteristics of American Christianity and an indication of their historical causes.

The most striking feature of it is, to the external observer, its extraordinary variety and complexity. There is no one church which occupies a dominant position, but the Christians of America are distributed through a large number of separate church-organizations, working independently of one another and frequently in the keenest kind of competition. This divided state of American Christianity can be rightly estimated and understood only when it is studied against its European background. For American Christianity is of European origin and all of the religious tendencies, antagonisms and prejudices of Europe have been transplanted, at one time or another, to the Western hemisphere.

The outlines of the religious map of America were drawn in the period of colonization. The first colonists were the Spaniards and the French. Their colonies were planted in the era of the Counter-reformation. The religion which they brought with them was Ro-

man Catholicism as it had developed in contrast with Protestantism. Spanish America has retained this type of Catholicism, and in those localities where the French settlements were important, it has remained the dominant form of Christianity. It is reactionary and unprogressive. It has produced no great leaders and given birth to no new movements. Original American Catholicism has no history, for it has had no inner growth.

The advent of the English into North America marks an epoch. Since the Reformation, there have been few events of equal importance in the religious history of the world. For the English colonists brought with them all the forms of Protestantism that had grown up in the home-country, and in some of the colonies, notably Pennsylvania, they offered whole-hearted hospitality to the Protestants of the European continent. Somewhere in the English colonies there was room for every kind of Christian belief. Congregationalists and Baptists and Quakers, Moravians and Lutherans and Reformed, Huguenots and Anglicans and Roman Catholics and sectaries of every kind and degree were able to find places of abode, where they could practice their beliefs. Not all of the colonies offered full religious toleration and some of them had their established churches, but after the War of Independence and the creation of the United States toleration became universal and the churches were everywhere separated from the government. Thenceforth no immigrant was compelled to cast his religion into the ocean in order to secure admission. All religions were permitted and none was favored by law. The law sanctioned the existence

of the varieties of Christianity already existing in the nation and placed no barrier against the formation or the importation of new varieties. From the very foundation of the American nation, therefore, it has contained many types of Christian belief and organization brought in from beyond the sea.

In practical operation, these two principles—full toleration and the separation of Church and State—have had two results. In the first place, they have thrown the American churches upon their own resources. They have had no artificial props on which to lean. Self-governing and self-supporting, they have had to hold their members to them by their own inner strength. This was a situation which had not existed in any nation since the days of Constantine. It was in harmony with the principles of the Protestant Reformation, though the reformers had not been able to effect it in any European land, and it was in complete contradiction to the principles and practice of the Roman church, which claims a right to state-support. With no legal disabilities attaching to lack of church-connection, and with no civil advantages accruing to church-membership, there has been in America no secular incentive for men to continue their names upon church-rolls unless they were sincerely desirous to do so. Consequently, there is no other country in the world where the percentage of entirely nominal Christians is so small.

A second result has been that the churches of America have been free to develop all of their inner strength. They have been unhindered either by the dictation or the opposition of the State. Each has been at liberty to work its own principles into prac-

tical life, unhampered by embarrassing laws. At the same time, the transplanting of European church-life to America has placed that life in a new setting and freed it from some of the limitations of its own traditions. The Lutheran churches are a conspicuous illustration of this emancipation. It is only in America that they have had full opportunity to develop their fundamental principles in a practical and efficient way. Thus America has become a field of free competition between the various types of Protestantism, with the Roman church as an added competitor. In this competition, the churches have developed a self-reliance and vigor, which only competitive conditions could call forth.

In the growth of the American churches the most important single factor has been immigration. At every period in American history the new arrivals have been modifying the religious life of the country. They have brought with them religious ideas, customs and prejudices, foreign to America, but influential, at the time of their coming, in the lands from which they have come. The settlers who came from England in the seventeenth century came out of an altogether different religious environment from those who emigrated a hundred years later. The same thing is true of those who have come from other countries. The nature and extent of these differences can only be understood by the history of the Church in the European lands. Thus American Christianity reflects all the changes that have come over European Christianity since the beginning of the seventeenth century.[1]

[1] Lutheranism in America offers an especially instructive illustration of this process. The first large immigration of

It is not rooted in the European Christianity of any one period, but is connected with European Christianity at many points.

The stream of European immigration has not been of uniform strength. There have been times when it has shrunk to a mere trickle; there have been other times when it has poured in like a flood. The times when the immigration has been large have been the most fruitful periods for the formation of new church-bodies. They have usually been of foreign origin, and have perpetuated ideas of Christianity and of the Christian life that have had their inception over-seas. Moreover, the immigration has come at different times from different lands. There have been times when it has been predominantly North European; there have been other times when it has come chiefly from Southern and Eastern Europe. The North European immigration has strengthened Protestantism; the immigrants from the South and East have been mainly Roman Catholics. Thus the predominance, among the immigrants, of now one and now another racial stock has caused repeated changes in the balance of

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Lutherans came in the eighteenth century, and Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, its first great organizer, was a Pietist, trained in the Halle tradition. By the end of the century, other newcomers had brought in the influence of rationalism. Thus the original Lutheran Church in America contained two conflicting tendencies. To these the earlier nineteenth century immigrants added a third, that of the evangelical revival (see above, p. 357 f.). From that point forward the "Muhlenberg line" in America began to have its own, relatively independent, development. The immigration that entered from Germany after the middle of the nineteenth century was already under the influence of the revived orthodoxy of the home-land and was separatistic in tendency. Where this later immigration formed dense settlements, as in the Middle West, it did not coalesce with the Muhlenberg line, but created new organizations.

religious forces in America. These immigrants, too, have never spread evenly over the country, but have shown a marked tendency to settle in groups. The South and East Europeans have located chiefly in the industrial and commercial centers, while the North Europeans have been the chief element in the great agricultural districts. Settling in such groups, they have perpetuated in their new home certain features of the religious life of the countries from which they have come. In many cases they have formed church-organizations of their own, with a distinctly nationalistic character, instead of allowing themselves to be absorbed into other organizations, of earlier establishment, which hold the same creeds.

The American church-organizations are, with scarcely an exception, founded upon creeds, not upon institutions. The bond which originally held the members of a given church together was the common acceptance of some one interpretation of the Gospel. But the fact that there has been no State-church and that any group has been free, for any reason which it deemed sufficient, to separate from a parent body, and create a new church, has led to the formation of many little churches which in European lands would have no separate existence, but would be merely parties within a state-church. Even relatively small differences in creed have sometimes been the cause of such divisions. On the other hand, it has frequently happened that differences which were not primarily religious, but secular, have produced such divisions. A conspicuous illustration of this is found in the division which the Civil War produced in nearly all the greater churches, and which, in most cases, is not yet healed,

though the original causes of it have ceased to exist.[2]

To the casual observer, this divided condition of American Christianity may well appear to be its leading characteristic. It would seem to be so hopelessly divided that it must be impotent. And yet, on closer observation, this conclusion turns out to be unwarranted. In all the fields of Christian activity American Christianity is continually demonstrating enormous vitality and power. This is due, above all else, to the fact that it is a Christianity of conviction, not of convention. American Christianity reflects the democratic principle, even in its divisions. For it is fundamental to the democratic idea that life must be left free to create its own forms of expression, so long as those forms do not infringe upon the right of others to self-expression. History does not show that uniformity of religious institutions has been a blessing. It does show, on the contrary, that the confinement of the religious life to any one single form of expression is deadening. "The letter killeth," whether it be the letter of the Jewish law, or the letter of constitutions and charters. Much as we may deplore the divisions of American Christianity, and greatly as we may desire to see the number of those divisions reduced, we cannot but recognize that they have been a source of

[2] Another illustration of the secular divisions is found in the separation of groups that hold the same creeds and have the same form of organization, but are of different European origin. Such a separation is that which exists between the Lutherans who are of Swedish and those who are of Norwegian origin. Even the Lutherans from Iceland have their own separate church. Another division of the same kind is that between the Reformed churches which are of German and of Dutch extraction. They are separate churches, though both have the same creeds and both have existed in America for more than two hundred years.

strength, as well as of weakness. They have allowed the individual Christian the largest liberty and permitted his religious life to find its most congenial form of expression. Thus they have left room for the development of a more vigorous Christian activity than would have been possible under less free conditions.

A second characteristic of American Christianity is its strongly evangelical tendency. This has marked all of the Protestant churches. The thought-movements that ran through Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries[3] have affected only small parts of the Church in America. Rationalism, especially in its French development,[4] did influence a small, though prominent, circle. Universalism at the end of the eighteenth century, and Unitarianism at the beginning of the nineteenth, were American developments of English rationalism, but neither of the churches which they produced has shown any great vitality or made many converts from the evangelical churches. The Methodist and the Baptist churches, on the other hand, have had an enormous growth, which has been out of all proportion to the immigration or the normal increase of the country's population. These two churches, followed by the Lutheran and the Presbyterian groups, are today the strongest, numerically, among the Protestant denominations. The Anglicans, represented in America by the Protestant Episcopal church, have had their main strength in the great cities, and their general tendency has been Low Church, though all the parties that existed in nineteenth-century England[5] have

[3] See above, Chapters XXVI and XXVIII.
[4] See above, p. 321.
[5] See above, p. 376 ff.

been represented within it. All of these churches have stood and still continue to stand, in the main, for the inspiration and for the full authority of the Scriptures, though they have differed from one another in the interpretation placed upon them. Present-day discussions have brought it to light that within at least three of these churches there is a liberal party, which is seeking to interpret the Gospel in the sense of the European liberals, but it is safe to say that the influence of this liberal party has not extended very far among the rank and file of the members of the churches.

This is in line with a third characteristic of American Christianity. It has had little interest in purely theoretical Christianity, and has been intensely preoccupied with the practical aspects of the Church. The American churches have produced few great theologians. The most conspicuous original thinker that they have developed was unquestionably Jonathan Edwards (1703-58), who was a representative of an extreme form of Calvinism. Thomas Campbell (1763-1854), the founder of the Disciples of Christ (1827) was not a theologian, but an advocate of a simple and literal biblicism. This lack of theologians has had two causes. The first is the general American tendency to prefer the practical to the theoretical, which shows itself quite as markedly in the fact that America has produced as few philosophers as theologians. The second is the position which theological education has had in the American churches. It has been conducted not in universities, as is the case in Europe, but in theological seminaries, founded and maintained by the churches, for the training of men to preach and teach the doctrines to which their churches are committed.

In these institutions theology has not had the purely scientific character which it possesses in the European universities, but has been more closely and intimately related to the life of the Church. At all times, therefore, it has had a conservative, rather than a speculative or radical direction.

To be sure, it is not true that American Christianity has been marked by the absence of doctrinal interests and doctrinal discussions. Lutherans and Calvinists and Arminians have set forth their doctrinal views at length in controversy with one another, and differences in doctrine have more than once been the occasion of splits and separations within the churches. But the theoretical issues around which these controversies have turned have usually been of European, not of American origin.

A fourth characteristic of American Christianity is its democratic form of organization. In all ages the organization of the Church has tended to follow the lines laid down by secular government. The American form of government is representative democracy, and all the American churches have tended to conform to that type of government. By the use of the principle of representation, the individual church-member obtains a direct part in the government of the church to which he belongs. Within the churches, the congregations have rights of their own, which the general church-body may not infringe. The Congregationalists, the Baptists and some of the Lutherans hold a theory of church-government which places all rights in the hands of the local congregations. Consistently carried out, this extreme form of congregationalism would make general church-activity difficult,

if not impossible. The theory has, therefore, been modified in operation by the delegation of increasing powers to synods, or conventions. In the churches which have an episcopal or presbyterian form of organization, the opposite theory is held. The power of church-government is theoretically vested in the church at large; but this theory, too, has been modified by the granting of increasing rights to the congregations. Starting, thus, with opposite theories, the American churches have been gradually approaching a single type of practical operation, corresponding to general American ideas.

The importance of the most recent movements within American Christianity is exceedingly difficult to estimate. The rise of a liberal party within certain of the churches has already been referred to. It has been met by a strong reaction in favor of the most conservative type of evangelical orthodoxy. The party of reaction has assumed the name of "fundamentalist" and the controversy between these two parties, is, at the moment, bitter. Its significance rests very largely on the fact that the alignment of the parties has cut across the lines that divide the churches, thus opening the possibility of an ultimate redistribution of the membership of certain of the churches. This possibility is the stronger because of the fact that in some of the churches there has grown up a widespread indifference to the creeds on which their organizations rest. This indifference displays itself in the ease with which American Christians pass from one church to another; in the conviction, frequently expressed by the clergy, that the chief difference among the Protestant churches of America is the difference in historical

origin; and in the growing feeling among large numbers of the laity that one type of Christianity is as valid and true as another. It would appear, therefore, that there is gradually coming into being a type of American Christianity that consists of a body of common convictions, which does not correspond with any of the historic types of Protestantism, and which would disregard, as negligible, such contrasts as that between Calvinism and Arminianism. Among the greater church-bodies, the Lutherans have been almost alone in the resistance of this tendency.

The growth of movements of co-operation has gone side by side with the growth of this spirit of confessional indifference. The European movements for church union[6] have all had their effect upon America and the twentieth century has already witnessed successful attempts to unite American church-bodies.[7] It would appear that the period of schism and increasing division has definitely passed, and that we have entered upon a time when the tendency is all in the opposite direction. The co-operative movement has produced the Foreign Missions Council, the Home Missions Council and the Council of Church Boards of Education. It is more fully represented by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America (since

[6] See above, p. 386 ff.

[7] Two of the most successful of these attempts have been made by the Lutherans in the formation of the United Lutheran Church (1918) and of the Norwegian Lutheran Church in America (1917). Each of these new organizations absorbed three smaller bodies, the United Lutheran Church numbering almost a million members. In both of these instances there is no serious doctrinal difference to overcome. A different situation arose in Canada, where the Methodists, Congregationalists and Presbyterians have agreed (1923) to unite in a single church.

1908), and the proposed World Conference on Christian Life and Work, in which Americans have taken a lively interest, aims at an even more ambitious program of co-operation, or parallel action, that will draw in all branches of Protestant Christianity. Meanwhile, another world conference, that on Faith and Order, which has originated in the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, will seek to accomplish the most ambitious task of all, and to unite all the churches of the world in one single organization. The former conference is planned for 1925, the latter for 1927. All of these things are signs of inner change. What results, for good or evil, may come out of them, the future alone can reveal.

CHAPTER XXX

Optimism, Depression, and Global War

In the period that followed World War I, the Church held with remarkable steadiness to the course already charted. The years were tumultuous. An economic boom, a world-wide depression, a fresh outbreak of global warfare, a peace that hovered between life and death—all these made their mark on individual Christians and on the Church. In many parts of the earth Christianity was fighting for its life. Materialism and reliance upon force attacked openly in some quarters, and the "blood of the martyrs" was more than a phrase. Elsewhere the attack was more subtle. Everywhere the Church stood fast. An era which might have seen a decline in the vitality of Christianity was marked instead by new strength. The Church grew in numbers, in influence, and in the life of the spirit.

A Steady Course

A. The Church's Environment

To understand this extraordinary state of affairs, let us take first a bird's-eye view of the general world situation. Such a view is necessarily superficial, yet we must scan the events which are not only a background but an influence in the story of the Church.

FALSE OPTIMISM

In the 1920's, the Allies did not know that they had won a war and lost a peace. Twenty years later a secular writer could say, "The people of England and France were in a vindictive mood. They got the peace they deserved." In the late twenties it seemed that, if not a good peace, at least a reasonable facsimile of one had been attained.

True, thinking people had been disturbed about the severity of the Versailles Treaty and about the failure of the United States to join the League of Nations. Their fears appeared, however, to be groundless. The League had been successful in arbitrating several international disputes. Germany, under the leadership of Dr. Gustave Stresemann, had shown a willingness to live up to the terms of the treaty. Under the Dawes Plan of 1924, the Allies had arranged to lend Germany money so that she might build up her industries and pay the heavy reparations demanded of her. By the Locarno Pact, England, France and Italy guaranteed the western boundary of Germany and of the demilitarized Rhineland.

Europe and Near East Quiet

The threat of widespread communist revolution had died down as Stalin took the reins and began improving conditions in Russia. The western nations smiled at the five-year plans but gladly entered the new markets for heavy machinery opened to them. In the Near East where Mustapha Kemal and his Turkish Nationalists were turning their attention to internal

reforms, Islam was dethroned, the fez abolished, and women "emancipated." Stirrings among the Arab nations seemed unimportant, as the British and the French appeared to have matters under control.

The Far East, too, was deceptively quiet. Growing unrest in colonial possessions, including Java and the Philippines, was quickly suppressed. In India, Mohandas Ghandi's call to *Satyagraha* (passive resistance) had failed and he had retired for the time being from public affairs. The Indian Congress was attempting much needed social and economic reforms.

Rifts in the Chinese government were healed temporarily by the death of Dr. Sun Yat-Sen and the reading of his will. This passed on to his followers the task of establishing the three principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Justice. Chiang Kai-shek swept north against the war lords. Alarm over the position of foreign interests was quieted and the power of the communist faction broken.

Far East Hopeful

Japan was adapting herself peaceably to western ways. A large part of the national budget was devoted to the army and navy, but by the Nine-Power Treaty signed at Washington in 1922, she had accepted a ratio of 3:5:5 with the navies of the United States and Great Britain. She had further agreed to respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.

Latin America and Africa were fertile fields for economic expansion. France and England were developing former German colonial territory. The

United States watched over Latin America with a good-humored if slightly self-righteous eye.

Hope for a warless world was fanned into a flame by the signing of the Kellogg-Briand Pact in 1928. Representatives of fifty-three nations agreed to refrain from aggressive war forever. Americans particularly were looking at the world through magic lenses which revealed no inconsistency between political isolationism and financial imperialism. The war to end war had been fought. The world with its barely tapped sources of raw materials, its vast markets for mass production goods, spread out on every side. Profits mounted, stocks soared. People talked of "prosperity" as though it were one more of modern man's inventions.

Kellogg-Briand Pact

ECONOMIC CHAOS

In October, 1929, the New York stock market crashed. The United States of America was both the world's greatest lender of capital and the world's greatest buyer. The fall of her financial superstructure was felt round the world. Russia was almost the only country in the world to raise her standard of living in the following years. By 1931 Great Britain had abandoned the gold standard. American bankers were calling in loans. A moratorium on reparations was arranged, but too late to prevent disaster in Central Europe. Political parties with differing ideologies struggled for the right to

"The Crash"

bring their particular form of order out of growing chaos.

The Near East remained reasonably quiet, although the immigration of Jews into Palestine was sowing the seeds of discord. In the Far East, however, a chain of explosions was touched off, each more powerful than the last.

Indian Nationalism

British attempts to produce a constitution for India were bungled. In 1930 Ghandi's campaign of civil disobedience began in earnest with his token violation of the Salt Law, a law which laid a burden on every Indian, however poverty-stricken. The effects of the world-wide depression added fuel to the flames. By 1935 order was being maintained by police rule, but Nationalism was growing underground. Indians were suspicious of the new constitution, although they took advantage of the provisions for Indian leadership in the provinces.

In China the rift between Chiang and the communists widened. Only the need of combined resistance to Japan bridged it for a time.

Manchuria

The full force of the economic gale struck Japan in 1930. The newly industrialized country lost no time abandoning the peaceful procedures which were being preached by the western nations. Faced by falling markets, rising tariff walls, and a Chinese boycott, she listened to the militarists who had never given up hope of a return to power. In 1931 she began the military occupation of Manchuria.

FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a line between the effects of the Great Depression and the breaking down of the machinery for keeping the peace.

That machinery was crippled from the start. Woodrow Wilson, with the hope for Christian justice in international affairs always before him, had consented to what he knew to be an unjust peace. He fully expected its provisions to be modified by the League of Nations. When America refused to join, the infant organization was faced with the task of maintaining an untenable status quo or adjusting differences while the United States held what amounted to a financial veto power.

Successes of the League

Yet a start was made. Sweden accepted the League's verdict that the Aland Islands should belong to Finland. Germany, Poland, Lithuania, Denmark, and Czechoslovakia also accepted decisions of the League's experts. Turkish-Iraqian and Greek-Bulgar wars were averted. When Mussolini refused to accept the League's arbitration in the Corfu incident of 1923, few people saw the straw in the wind.

Real trouble began with the tensions intensified by the depression. In 1931 Japan invaded Manchuria. In 1932 she attempted to force the Chinese to raise their boycott by attacking Shanghai. The League did the only thing it could do: rebuked her. Japan withdrew from the League and continued her conquests.

When Adolf Hitler became Chancellor of Germany in 1933, few people dreamed that within four years he would come close to fulfilling his promises to the German people—unity, prosperity, and equality with other nations. He repudiated reparations, reintroduced conscription, withdrew from the League of Nations and began a huge program of public works. At the same time he attacked ruthlessly every group within the country which might prove a possible threat to his supremacy. The League was helpless.

Growing Tensions

Still hopeful of averting calamity, the League sponsored a World Economic Conference in 1933. It failed, as did the long-drawn-out Disarmament Conferences which were being held at the same time. The entrance of Soviet Russia into the League (1934) could not offset the shattering effect of Mussolini's invasion of Africa. Hitler, seeing that he now had two successful precedents for treaty repudiation, marched into the Rhineland in 1936.

In the meanwhile, the civil war which had been brewing in Spain broke out openly. Nonintervention by the rest of the world was a complete failure. Hitler and Mussolini were backing the rebellious Franco. Russia was aiding the party in power. A pattern was beginning to emerge in world politics.

Although the regular machinery for keeping the peace had proved its weakness, individual nations kept on hoping. The Four-Power Pact signed at Munich in 1938 gave the Sudeten lands to Germany. But by that time Hitler had had a taste of power. The stream

of German military might was rolling. World War II was a reality.

A WORLD AT WAR

Since Hitler could not be appeased, Britain and France mustered their forces. Russia shocked them by signing a nonaggression pact with the dictator who had floated to power on a wave of anti-communist feeling. Fascist Italy, the natural ally of Nazi Germany, waited to join the fight until Mussolini thought the outcome was assured.

The United States, meanwhile, insisted that the war was no concern of hers. She would fight no more wars to end war. When the German offensive was turned on Russia, she hoped the two dictators would put an end to each other. But as mechanized units rolled on, bombs devastated London, and neutral countries were invaded, the threat to her own safety became apparent. With Japan sweeping on in China and Hitler conquering Europe, the United States saw herself and the other American nations as the last stronghold of democracy. She stopped selling supplies to Japan, increased her aid to China and Britain, and began building up her own army and navy.

The United States

When Japan struck, in December, 1941, the battle lines encircled the globe. The United Nations was the name given to those who opposed the German-Italian-Japanese Axis. Franklin D. Roosevelt, president of the United States 1932-45, did much to foster

the idea. The ground work was carefully laid for the San Francisco Conference at which the constitution for the United Nations Organization was formulated.

ATOMIC PEACE?

This conference accomplished its work before the use of the atomic bomb by the United States stunned the world. The immediate result of the use of the new weapon was the abrupt ending of the war with Japan. The more far-reaching effect was to demonstrate that the United States could be as ruthless as her opponents when the occasion arose. The world must find a peaceful way to settle international differences or blow itself to bits.

The period after the cessation of military hostilities became one of endless tension. Problems of reconstruction were complicated by widespread drought, by strikes, and by political jockeying for power within and among the victorious powers. The trial of war criminals established the principle of individual responsibility for national conduct, although the treatment of the proceedings in the press saddened idealists. Much of the world was left starving and homeless. The Far East and Central Europe were in travail. The problem of dispossessed Jews loomed on the horizon.

International Distrust

Conferences of foreign ministers revealed deep distrust. The Peace Conference at Paris laid bare the divergent aims of the erstwhile Allies. The United

Nations organization held its general assembly in New York. Thinking men and women waited with mixed fear and hope for a glimpse of the future. "To be or not to be" had become a pertinent question.

B. The Church Reflects its Environment

No phase of the Church's work has been more responsive to the trends of the times than the missionary movement.[1] During the years of financial expansion, it received a fresh impetus.

After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the strongest of the eastern churches, the Russian Orthodox Church, faded completely from the picture as a supporter of foreign missions. That it has survived the calculated efforts to exterminate it shows that it was somewhat less decadent than its foes supposed. Nevertheless, it could no longer be considered a force in the spreading of the gospel.

Roman Catholic missions were greatly stimulated by the general conditions of the papacy.[2] The new strength which sprang from unity of spirit and organization found outlets in the East Indies, Madagascar, Africa, India, Indo-China, and Japan. Latin America, which had been nominally Roman Catholic since the conquest by white men, received new attention and an effort was made to convert hitherto unreached tribes in the interior. Both in Latin America and the Philip-

Roman Catholic Missions

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[1] See above pp. 335 ff. and 382 f.
[2] See above, pp. 348 f.

pines, a new vigor was evident in the attempt to reclaim the indifferent.

An important factor in the growth of the missionary enterprise of the Roman Catholics was the increased support of its North American constituency, particularly that of the United States. The Roman church had made a strong and fairly successful attempt to assimilate the large numbers of immigrants pouring into that country at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. In the 1920's restrictive legislation reduced the flow, thus enabling the church to consolidate its gains. The improved financial status of the members, together with the greater wealth of the country, made it possible to channel impressive sums into foreign missions. This did much to offset losses from European sources which could contribute personnel but not money for the work.

Protestant Missions

Protestant expansion in non-Christian lands was even more marked. Protestant countries in Europe had, generally speaking, suffered less from World War I than had France and Belgium, two strongholds of the Roman Catholic missionary movement. Nor were they threatened with civil war as was Spain. Scandinavian countries entered the 1920's well able to continue their contribution to the christianization of the world. With the exception of Finland, they had gained rather than lost from the war. Through their shipping and their new industries they shared in the general trade boom. Their missionary societies, supported by private contributions, sent some of this wealth to mission fields.

In America, Protestant churches turned with enthusiasm to making the world not only safe for democracy, but Christian as well. To be sure, more time and money were devoted to improving church buildings in America than went toward converting the heathen. Yet there was a marked increase in giving for others, which was particularly encouraging in view of a growing political isolationism.

The year 1928, which saw the signing of the Kellogg-Briand pact, was marked also by the meeting of the International Missionary Council at Jerusalem. Out of this gathering grew the Agricultural Missions Foundation and also the Department of Social and Industrial Research and Counsel. Both were influenced by an increasing feeling that the Church had an obligation to improve social and economic conditions as well as to cure souls and bodies.

International Missionary Conference

Parallel to the thinking of this group of mission-minded Christians was the work of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. Its findings, edited by the chairman, William E. Hocking, under the title *Rethinking Missions,* aroused a great deal of interest. While its liberal attitude toward other religions was contrary to the convictions of many staunch supporters of missions, it influenced the general rethinking which took place.

Rethinking Missions

Some of this reconsideration was hastened by other factors. As western civilization forced its way into other lands, not only through Christian missions but

through trade expansion and political contacts, a strong resentment against the white man's domination arose. Recognizing the justice of a great deal of this feeling, both Protestants and Roman Catholics emphasized the need of a native ministry.

The reflection of the Church's environment was seen when this development of an indigenous leadership was hastened by the depression. In a burst of optimism many of the parent churches had committed themselves to large-scale programs at home. Funds for foreign missions dropped considerably. While such sums as were given indicated a heartfelt interest in the work, the "younger churches" were thrown upon their own resources as never before. They responded heroically, and surprisingly little of the work was abandoned. National leadership took on new responsibilities. By the time the International Missionary Conference met in Madras in 1938, about half the delegates were non-Occidentals.

The "Younger Churches

The approach of World War II intensified the trend toward independence on the part of the newer Christian communities. In 1940 Christianity was recognized as on a par with other religions in Japan, but Christians had to register. Occidentals turned over to nationals all positions of authority and in 1941 the Church of Christ in Japan was formed. Most foreigners either withdrew at this time or were interned and repatriated after the outbreak of hostilities.

Nationalization was less dramatic where the withdrawal of foreigners was less abrupt. Virtually every-

where plans were made for such a withdrawal. In countries occupied by Japan, Christians found their property confiscated, their meetings frowned upon. Yet Christianity as a way of faith and life survived. In much of China, the prestige of the Soong family and the literacy movement of Dr. Y. C. James Yen, as well as the devotion of students, teachers, and simple villagers, have been forces in the Church's determined resistance to disintegration. In India the National Christian Council took steps to secure aid for missions orphaned by severance of ties with the parent churches in Europe and nationalization was speeded up to prepare for a possible evacuation of foreigners as the Japanese came closer. During the war years American soldiers found autonomous groups of Christians on the most remote islands of the Pacific.

Nationalization Speeded by War

At the same time, Christians of all nations have sought to keep unbroken the bonds which unite them with Christians of other countries. Perhaps nowhere was this more evident than in the heroic kindness of Chinese and Japanese Christians to each other in moments of stress.

It is apparent that while the missionary movement was deeply affected by the events of war, those events have worked together for good. The movement progressed until no one country could be called the stronghold of Christianity. Nor could the fate of any particular nation or group of nations halt the spread of the gospel.

C. The Church Resists its Environment

The spectacle of so-called Christian nations fighting one another with the savage ferocity exhibited in World War I had a profound effect upon the Church. Many began to feel that the Church must be the conscience of the State. International organizations for disseminating peace propaganda attracted attention, although a warless world was thought by some to be already a reality.

The Conscience of the State?

Inner mission work had grown tremendously during the boom years. Works of mercy became for some liberals the chief reason for the Church's existence, while fundamentalists and the more conservative branches of Christianity took the phrase "unto the least of these" very literally.

When the depression set the social pot to boiling, leaders who were awake to the trends within society called upon the Church to study the cause and prevention of mankind's distress. The failure of the prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States had made the Church wary of trying to "legislate morality." However, the responsibility of Christian citizens to take the lead in building a civilization more in accord with God's design cried for recognition.

Evangelism received fresh attention as a means of providing both "the greedy rich and the covetous poor" with new patterns of conduct. Religious education

which aimed at strengthening faith and demonstrating a better way of life received a new emphasis and adopted new techniques. The relations of labor and management were debated. The co-operative movement attracted a few practical and many theoretical adherents. Work for migrant workers in the United States was intensified.

Social Gospel

After World War I the divorce rate rose sharply in almost all western countries. The Church began to study the relation of religion to the home. The causes of juvenile and adult delinquency received greater attention than ever before. Courses in family life were introduced into Sunday schools and youth groups.

The whole relationship of man to God and man to man was seen to be a concern of the Church.[3] William Temple, Archbishop of York and later of Canterbury, became a leading exponent of what was called the Social Gospel. Its parallel in Roman Catholic circles was Catholic Action.

Resistance to totalitarianism brought Church and State into open conflict in many places.

That Christianity cannot hold aloof from the life of society became apparent as the evils of Nazism showed their strength in Germany. Hitler recognized no limits of decency. He had a program for the development of his super-race which perverted the highest instincts of mankind at the same time that it unleashed the worst. Nazism and Christianity could not exist together.

Germany

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[3] See above, p. 365.

Hitler's concordat with the pope quieted Roman Catholicism while he attempted unsuccessfully to shape Protestantism into an instrument which he could control.

Under the Weimar Republic there had been a tendency to separate church and state which had resulted in somewhat greater freedom for the churches. The 28 provincial state churches joined in the German Federation of Evangelical Churches in 1922. In 1933 they were "encouraged" to form the German Evangelical Church and to elect a single reichsbishop. Friederich von Bodelschwingh[4] was their choice. Hitler ordered a new election which maneuvered his own man, Ludwig Mueller, a leader of the small group of so-called German Christians, into power. He ordered that prayers be said for the Reich and that the swastika be displayed in all churches.

By 1934, Confessional Synods were being formed. The next year a manifesto against the new paganism read from confessional pulpits resulted in nearly 700 arrests. Karl Barth, widely known as a theologian and for his renewed emphasis on the transcendence of God, came out with a strong denunciation of the self-styled German Christians.

Confessional Church

The new Ministry for Church Affairs hoped to destroy the Confessional Church. By 1937 collections were forbidden for the support of Confessional pastors or their families. Martin Niemoeller, their dynamic

[4] See above, p. 385.

leader, was imprisoned in a concentration camp.

The Roman church, meanwhile, united with Protestants in objecting to Nazi treatment of Jews, to pagan philosophy and state control of all youth groups. Charges of all sorts were brought against the clergy and many joined their Protestant fellows in concentration camps.

During the war an advisory council of three, and later four, churchmen was headed by the Lutheran bishop Marahrens to co-operate with the Ministry of Church Affairs. The former provincial churches remained as administrative units. Church attendance increased. The sale of Bibles continued. The number of communicants, although low did not decrease. When Nazism fell, Christianity was found to have survived the ordeal.

In Russia and the other countries under her control, the Church suffered heavily. Direct and indirect attack had taken their toll when in 1939 antireligious activity was ordered checked. In 1943 the Russian Orthodox Church was permitted to elect a patriarch. So far as could be determined by reports from behind the "iron curtain" of Russian censorship, Orthodox and a few Baptist churches were well attended. However, no provision was made for the religious education of children except at home—and this in a land that laid much stress on the training of youth. To some observers it seemed that the patriarch was being used as a tool to further Russian prestige among Christian nations and counterbalance the attacks of Rome.

Russia

The Italian revolution was not nearly so complete as those in Russia and Germany. It was possible to reach a compromise. In Spain, Communist mistreatment of priests and nuns blinded many to the real issue by making Franco appear the supporter of religion.

With the occupation of other countries by Germany, the Church formed the core of resistance in many places. Roman Catholic religious orders helped Jews and other distressed persons to escape from France.

Other Countries

In Denmark the Lutheran pastor Kaj Munk was murdered for refusing to curb his preaching. The Lutheran bishops of Norway refused to accept the archbishop appointed by the Nazi puppet government. Through persecution and imprisonment, the true archbishop, Eivand Berggrav, heartened his people. Finland, oppressed by both German and Russian antireligious forces, did not lose hope.

In the second quarter of the 20th century the Church resisted the organized opposition of materialistic governments. Where there was no such opposition, it spoke out against a variety of social evils. Nor did the Church in any country allow itself to be completely identified with the military activities of that country. Chaplains ministered to the armed forces, prayers for victory and for the safety of loved ones were offered. Nevertheless, the right of individuals to refuse for conscientious reasons to serve in the armed forces was upheld more firmly than previously. Nor was the

Resistance to Social Evils

"flagwaving" of World War I repeated on the same scale.

D. The Church Rises Above its Environment

While Christianity has resisted some of the forces at work "in the world" and made good use of others, it has shown a spirit that is not "of the world." The internationalism of the 20th century had its roots in Christian idealism quite as much as in secular realism. When that internationalism began to disintegrate prior to World War II, bonds of Christian unity were strengthened.

The gradual drawing together of many branches of Protestantism which had begun in the previous century[5] quickened its tempo as nations drew farther apart. By the time the war broke in full fury, Christians had assembled a temporary organization which was able to function with some success across the lines of battle.

The meeting of the World Conference on Faith and Order held in Lausanne, 1927,[6] led to another in Edinburgh in 1937. The same year a meeting of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work[7] was held at Oxford. Many delegates attended both gatherings. From them came the proposal for a World Council of Churches. A provisional constitution was agreed upon at Utrecht in 1938 with Archbishop

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[5] See above, pp. 386 f.
[6] See above, p. 403.
[7] See above, p. 403.

William Temple as chairman. An assembly to meet every 5 years and a smaller central committee were main features of the organization.

During the war years many churches applied for membership. All the great families of Protestantism were represented. When the war ended a meeting was held in Geneva and the headquarters there continued and intensified its program of physical and spiritual relief. To support this program the churches of the world contributed according to their means. The various denominations in America asked their members to give $112,000,000 before the end of 1947, in addition to their regularly budgeted expenses, for home, foreign, and inner missions. The response was generous, although hardly on a 1st-century plane of sacrifice.

World Council of Churches

In addition to co-operative undertakings such as the World Council of Churches, the Bible Societies of the world, the Y.M. and Y.W.C.A's, the International Missionary Conference, the World's Sunday School Association, other trends toward union were visible. To the three kinds of union proposed before 1926 [8], was added a fourth—that of independent bodies in different countries subscribing to the same doctrines. In some cases this militates against other types of union. For example, a movement to unite Episcopalians and Presbyterians in the United States served to intensify the desire of conservatives in both groups to maintain their distinctive emphases and to remain in com-

[8] See above, pp. 388 f.

munion with like-minded Christians in other parts of the world.

An outstanding example of this fourth type of union is the Lutheran World Federation. Before World War I, contacts between Lutheran bodies were largely of a theological nature. The need for united action in serving the American armed forces and giving aid to impoverished fellow-Lutherans abroad led to the formation in 1918 of the National Lutheran Council. The Lutheran World Convention, which met first at Eisenach in 1923, was succeeded by the Lutheran World Federation, a free association of independent churches subscribing to the traditional Lutheran Confessions. At its meeting in Stockholm in 1946, it asked to be admitted to the World Council of Churches as a confessional body, rather than as representatives of their national Protestant groups.

Lutheran World Federation

E. The Church and the Future

The relation between the World Council of Churches and the United Nations Organization was an important issue. The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, through its Committee for the Study of the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, influenced public opinion in that country. The chairman of the committee, John Foster Dulles, was asked to advise the American delegation to the San Francisco Conference. A subcommittee of the World Council of

A Just and Durable Peace

Churches met at Cambridge, in August, 1946, to discuss the possibility of continuing this influence into the new organization. Joining hands with Roman Catholicism on obviously Christian and humane issues seemed a not impossible course.

Rome, with or without Protestant support, continued to speak authoritatively to the world. The pope's indorsement of Mussolini was liquidated without even denting the doctrine of papal infallibility. The battle against communism was pressed on all fronts. Conviction of an archbishop in Yugoslavia was followed swiftly by the excommunication of Marshal Tito and other heads of his government.

The Future

Like other democratic organizations, Protestantism moves slowly. Which way it will turn, and how it will throw its resources into the fight against the evils which breed communism and other "isms" cannot be foretold. In the confusion which marks the closing years of the first half of the 20th century this much is clear. The Church is gathering strength. Whether the next battle will be against fresh persecution, against the consequences of renewed warfare, or against the secularism of a "secure" society remains to be seen.

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